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ABSTRACT

A collection of research reports concerning language issues on Guam includes: "Language Survival, the Ideology of English and Education in Guam" (Robert A. Underwood); "American Policies and Practices Affecting Language Shift on Guam: 1898-1950" (Rosa S. Palomo); "Is Bilingual Education a Friend or Foe of the Indigenous Languages of the Marianas?" (Samuel Betanes); "Chamorro Child Language" (Carol Odo); "Studies of Chamorro and English Oral Language Proficiency with Chamorro Children in Guam" (Mary L. Spencer, Rosa Palomo, Nelia Vela); "A Survey of Language Use Attitudes in Guam" (Carol Odo); "The Development of Linguistic Attitudes Toward Guamanian Dialect English and Standard English" (Julieta Babasa); "Ethnic Inequalities in Guam's Special Education Programs" (Nerissa Lee); and a discussion of the implications for research and development (Mary Spencer). (MSE)

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Chamorro Language Issues and Research on Guam

A Book of Readings

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CHAMORRO LANGUAGE ISSUES AND RESEARCH ON GUAM

A BOOK OF READINGS

EDITED BY
MARY L. SPENCER

University of Guam
Mangilao, Guam
1987

CHAMORRO LANGUAGE ISSUES AND RESEARCH ON GUAM

A BOOK OF READINGS

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FOREWORD

The possible demise of the Chamorro language on Guam in the next generation has captured the imagination and thoughts of many educators and leaders on the island. In the past fifteen years, almost all leading officials and educators on the Island have made formal statements on behalf of retaining the Chamorro language. There have even been the institutionalization of bilingual education programs and the creation of a Chamorro language "mandate" for children in the public elementary schools.

In the debates over the necessity of a Chamorro language mandate, the discussions of the efficacy of language preservation efforts, and the arguments about the appropriate role of schools in language policy, there has been an appalling lack of information and understanding about the language itself. Symptomatic of the state of knowledge about Guam's own past and culture, most people on Guam know very little about the historical background of the Chamorro language. Unfortunately, there is little opportunity to formally learn much about Chamorro. The language itself is rarely studied beyond conversational levels and its interesting and dynamic past remains generally unknown to a vast majority of the Island's residents.

This lack of information and knowledge about Chamorro has detrimentally affected both the quality and quantity of research about the language, its structure, its history, and its effect on education. By organizing this book of readings, Dr. Mary Spencer has made an important contribution toward reversing this unfortunate trend.The articles in it provide information upon which further discussions about Chamorro can be based and policy decisions considered. More importantly, the readings inspire the conduct of more research and the development of more informed arguments by asking many questions as well as attempting to provide some answers. The role of previous language policies, the current articulation of language policy goals, the attitudes of educators and the general public as well as the actual level of language proficiency among the Chamorro children of Guam are all discussed and analyzed. In combination, they offer the reader a solid, informative and stimulating account of the state of Chamorro language issues and their treatment in schools and society on Guam.

Persons on Guam who do not take the time to understand something about the Chamorro language do more than demonstrate a kind of insensitivity and indifference to the Chamorro people. They deny themselves the rich experience of understanding a cultural and language legacy that is unique in human history. For education personnel on Guam not to participate in this experience is even more serious. To me, it represents a form of professional negligence. All educators on Guam need to understand Chamorro language concerns and issues, not only for their own edification and benefit, but in order to more fully serve the children and society with which they work.

With this volume, we can now begin to participate in this Chamorro language experience a little more fully and with considerably greater understanding. Puedi ha' u ma li'e yan u ma ripara na sin tiningo', sin kinemprendi, sin guinaiya yan sin aksion, ti sina yan ningai'an na ta satba i et mas guaguan ne irensia ginen in manaina-ta-i fino Chamorro.

Robert A. Underwood

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, the authors of these collected papers must be thanked for permitting their work to be disseminated through this volume. Let us also remember the Chamorro children and adults who served as the subjects of study and the school personnel who facilitated research arrangements for several of the studies. All of the studies which directly examined use of the Chamorro language depended upon the work, often on a volunteer basis, of native speakers of Chamorro who provided interpretation, translation, interviewing, and observation services. This volume would not have been possible without the technical assistance, suggestions for some of the selections, and the many resources given by Robert Underwood and the Bilingual Education Program of the University of Guam.

INTRODUCTION

This book of readings on Chamorro language issues in Guam was compiled primarily for students and scholars in the Micronesian Region. It is only a beginning. Those of us who work with the language, culture, and education issues of the Region recognize the need for many types of information to which we currently lack access. Perhaps this small collection of readings will stimulate the development of research and writing on these issues by both students and established scholars, as these questions pertain not only to the Chamorro language in Guam, but to all of the regional languages and cultures.

The papers in this volume were drawn from many sources: refereed journals, the file of UOG Special Projects prepared by students, technical reports prepared under contract to Guam government agencies, presentations made to groups of educators and researchers, and previously unpublished research reports prepared solely for the purpose of illuminating an issue. They were selected because they serve one of two functions:

1. The paper helps establish a documented historical perspective on Chamorro language issues in Guam; and/or,
2. The paper directly addresses issues of importance to child development and education, educational equity for Chamorro students in Guam, or the development and preservation of the Chamorro language.

By organizing the papers into two distinct categories, policy papers and research, the editor hopes to show the utility and need for both types of writing.

Other examples of research on the Chamorro language were purposefully excluded from this collection. For example, Topping (e.g., 1963) and Cooreman (e.g., 1982a, 1982b, 1983, 1985) have both conducted basic linguistic research on the Chamorro language. However, in the editor's view, it would be more appropriate to develop a future collection composed entirely of basic linguistic research on the Chamorro language, and to preserve an applied language/culture/education theme for the current volume.

The final section of this volume is dedicated to a discussion of the implications for future research that are derived from the findings of the collected papers.

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LANGUAGE SURVIVAL, THE IDEOLOGY OF ENGLISH AND EDUCATION IN GUAM[1]

Robert A. Underwood
University of Guam

In Guam, as in other Pacific islands under the American flag, much concern has been expressed in recent years over the possible demise of the indigenous languages. This much debated concern has usually translated itself into the development of educational programs which legitimate the teaching of the local languages within the confines of the regular curriculum. The expansion of Chamorro language education during the past decade on Guam is clearly part of this trend. An examination of the trend's rationale can provide educators with insights into the limitations and possibilities of a school-centered language maintenance effort.

Basically, the issue of Chamorro language retention on Guam has been conceptualized as an educational issue. This reality is based on the experiences of the Chamorro people since the arrival of the Americans in 1899. The school experience has been characterized as one that has consistently denigrated the Chamorro language and culture through "no speaking Chamorro" rules, through encouragement by school officials to use English as a home language and through the emulation (with remarkably few adaptations) of an "American" curriculum (Aguon, 1979). With the rise of Chamorro consciousness and the observable decline of the Chamorro language among young children (Odo, 1972), this previous experience was used as the basis upon which to plan a future for the Chamorro language.

The lessons, which were thought to be learned from the insensitive past, formed basic the rationale that was used in developing the language programs of the 70s. Fundamentally, the assumptions underlying the language maintenance programs were twofold. First, the decline in usage of the Chamorro language can be traced to the previous educational policies which denigrated the Chamorro language. Secondly, since the promotion of English as a home language by previous educators was somewhat successful, the same could hold true for the Chamorro language if a place were found for it in the school system. Both of these assumptions were evident in the proposal for federal funding of the Chamorro Language and Culture Program in 1976 which stated that the Chamorro culture began to decline since the United States gained control of Guam and the English language was mandated as the official language. This and the noncommittal attitude of many parents about the trend has, according to the proposal, "occurred largely because the educational establishment in Guam has heretofore not been able to offer alternatives in terms of a concentrated fully implemented and effective program" (Guam D.O.E., 1976).

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[1] *An earlier version of this article appeared in Educational Research Quarterly, Volume 8, 1984.*

Such a statement is both powerful and simple. It encapsulated the sentiments of many Guam political and educational leaders who felt that the poor state of Chamorro stemmed from previous inattention in the school. The argument that the federal management of schools through the U.S. Navy had been anti-Chamorro for most of Guam's experience since 1899 had become a rallying point for Chamorro language advocates in the 70s. In debate over the funding of Chamorro language education in 1977, one Guam senator stated that the federal government was responsible for the phasing out of Chamorro so they should pay to have the language restored.

The quid pro quo, although satisfying to those angered by previous policies, is based upon an inadequate analysis of what occurred in Guam's schools and what is in fact possible. Because of the concern over Chamorro language survival in the future, there has been a tendency to analyze only what happened to the Chamorro language in the past. That is to say, the development of attitudes towards Chamorro and its use in the schools have been scrutinized to the exculsion of examining the formulation of attitudes towards English. The assumptions have been made in a process which ignored the totality of language attitudes towards both Chamorro and English as they emerged over time in school system.

Moreover, proceeding from the lesson that Chamorro language loss was caused by poor attitudes learned in school was the assumption that schools could reverse the process. This assumption is immediately questionable on sociolinguistic grounds but cannot be dismisssed on this basis alone, at least not to government leaders. The lesson of Chamorro language loss through schools is burned into the personal experience of every Chamorro who attended Guam schools prior to the 1970s.

AN IDEOLOGY OF ENGLISH

Language contact situations make possible a multitude of conditions for the maintenance of differing attitudes toward the languages involved. The role of the various social institutions is, of course, critical and schools in particular may be pivotal. However, the attitudes toward a given language in a bilingual setting cannot be divorced from the attitudes toward the other language. In the school experience of Guam for the first 70-odd years of American rule, individuals remember paying fines and being punished for speaking Chamorro in the classroom and on the school campus. They remember the stern warnings of teachers and administrators that the speaking of Chamorro was of little value in life and would hinder intellectual development. Of even greater significance, Chamorros had become convinced by imported administrators that Chamorro was hardly a language but a patois or more commonly a "dialect," as if it were in a state of arrested development (Fischer, 1961).

A review of the actual policies and intentions of education and government officials in the past certainly validates the foregoing picture, but the formation of attitudes toward Chamorro was only part of the picture. Of greater consequence were those attitudes being generated towards English. This emphasis on English was shrouded in a wide variety of rationales which initially included a capacity to follow orders from naval officials in the early years of U.S. rule to general social progress in later years. The advertised value of English seemed to expand year by year as the officials became frustrated with the progress of English learning in school. Most of the value attached to English was phrased in terms of school success; but, of equal importance, English was also cast as part of the agenda of progressive social development. The learning of English was supposed to lift the Chamorro people out of economic and social sloth.

During the first two decades of American rule, the educational system was concerned primarily with its establishment as a compulsory system. The system´s goals were rather limited. One early naval governor wrote that the object of schooling was "to have the child of the present generation learn to express itself in English and to know how much change is due from a $2 bill after a purhase at the trades" (Dorn, 1911). The system could not develop larger inasmuch as the schools were ungraded, lacked adequate buildings and trained teachers (Naval government of Guam, 1921).

However, in the mid-20s, the school system was reorganized and began to take on the task of reforming the Chamorro people in earnest. The English language was seen as playing a major role in this process; and, evidently, the development of an English language ideology became necessary to bring about the desired changes. In pre-war Guam, the Navy-operated Guam Recorder was the major vehicle dissemiating this ideology to the public. Its pages were replete with examples of this ideology. Probably the most outrageous example is as follows:

> "English will bring to the people of Guam, through the public school, a knowledge of sanitation and hygiene, which will enable them to live in correct manner. This will result still more in the favorable increase in population. Along with such increase will come further and enforced economic development. With economic development will come more of the real pleasures of life. Through English will come a knowledge of fair play and a keen sense of honor such as the progenitors of Americans had at the time of the origin of the language and such as is practiced by the American nations at the present time. With a knowledge of English under American tutorship will come a natural love for labor and industry by those who even come to think themselves educated. A knowledge of theoretical as well as practical agriculture is opened to all and through English under the present order of things, if continued, Guam should become one of the garden spots of the world (Guam Recorder, 1925)."

In 1925, another Guam Recorder editorial advised that educational progress could come only from English. Furthemore, the editorial recommended that parents who know English ought to speak it to their children "habitually." Even the Catholic Church´s catechism classes, conducted in Chamorro, were singled out for attention. The editorial recommended a switch to English in recognition of the Church´s "duty to the general welfare of the Community."

In an effort to point out the practical, personal value of English as opposed to a general, progressive change in society, the Guam Recorder later printed a short piece by a Chamorro principal who argued that the "success of any business, professional mechanic, or laboring individual is usually measured by his ability to speak or write English distinctly, fluently, concisely and forceably." However, he does articulate the earlier components of the ideology by arguing that Chamorros should speak the language of "our foster country" and that "economic self-sufficiency" will result from everyone doing his share in using English. The argument is taken to its maximum by the improbable statement that citizens and teachers who do not improve their English are "really committing criminal deeds to the public and especially the future generations" (Torres).

The theme of general social progress as being brought about by increased proficiency in English was repeated almost monthly in the Guam Recorder and in the public pronouncements regarding public education during the entire pre-World War II period. Comments about Chamorro were sometimes negative, but only infrequently, and rarely made in public. Moreover, they were usually made as a weak rationale for justifying the emphasis on English. In evidence, too, were some weak references to the possibilities of bilingualism. For example, the head of the Department of Education in 1934 wrote, "English in the schools and Chamorran in the homes and streets are not altogether incompatible" (Guam Recorder, 1934). But even these sentiments were expressed in a spirit that emphasized the value of English in social development. Education officials wrote in 1937 that although there is no desire to supercede the Chamorro language, the people should realize that a "forward look" to their own betterment "will be sufficiently practical to realize the importance of English in the official and economic life of Guam" (Guam Recorder,1937).

POSTWAR CHANGES

The post-war period witnessed many changes in Guam´s society. Most of these were connected with a dramatic increase in military activity which included the building of 21 military installations and sufficient numbers of military personnel to outnumber the Chamorros. The military expansion provided the framework for the shift from a subsistence farming economy to one based on wages and employment. Politically, the leadership was tiring of naval rule and redoubled its efforts to secure civilian government and U.S. citizenship. Educationally, the major change was the expectation of high school attendance by all and university-level education by many. Prior to the war, education beyond the sixth grade was possible only for a select few and the compulsory school age was six to 12 years old (Reid, 1941).

The role of English in all of these changes added new nuances and renewed emphasis on certain elements of the English language ideology. By far, the most significant was the identification of school success with a knowledge of English. This part of the ideology received a great deal of attention prior to the war but was of limited consequence due to the low level of education available and the subsistence character of the economy. However, with practically everyone under the age of 25 in school (due to the interruption of schooling by the war) and with the development of high educational aspirations, the school success argument was attractive to far more than the pre-war elite of Guam.

In practice, this meant the continuation of no-Chamorro rules and exhortations by anyone associated with the school to use more English. Among the many activities designed to bring this about were the posting of "English-Speaking Area" signs around the school campuses the giving of recognition to students who spoke only English and the formation of English-speaking clubs. One Chamorro principal, in recognizing the work of these clubs, stated, "Parents who speak English at home give great help to their children...because the children who speak English well do best in school" (Guam Department of Education, 1955). This direct link to school success was observed by one linguist who argued that many parents shifted to English since "they were determined that their children should not suffer the academic disadvantages that had been theirs when they had their schooling in English" (Kehoe, 1973).

Economic changes also gave life to the argument that personal economic success was a consequence of speaking English. For the first time in the island's history, most of the people were wage earners and the vast majority of available positions were in government (both local and federal-military) service. All of these positions were advertised and offered in a civil service system which had as the first qualification a knowledge of English. The message of English and its impact of occupational success was given prior to the war but had little chance for application in the subsistence economy. The post-war occupational picture seemed to validate in dollars and cents this component of the ideology.

The English language ideology was given further support in the political debate over U.S. citizenship in the late 1940s. Much of the rationale given by the local political elite in support of citizenship was assimilation to American life. In testimony before the U.S. Congress in 1950s. Antonio Won Pat (later Guam's delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives) told the Congressmen, "We have adopted your language and assimilated your ideals and way of life" (Carano & Sanchez, 1964). Such themes were stated earlier by Guam Congress members on the occasion of a U.S. Congressional visit to the island.

The role of any direct denigration of Chamorro in this emerging ideology of English can perhaps be seen as important to the formation of language attitudes but not necessarily crucial. In educational practice, school officials were merely reflecting general American education trends of the time and their own ignorance of language processes.

The educator decision (on an ideological level) to ban Chamorro was based on a desireto promote the usage of English and certainly not on any intrinsic desire to see Chamorro destroyed. Chamorro was perceived as an obstacle to this goal but not necessarily as the enemy of English. Direct attacks on Chamorro were rare and, when engaged in, were articulated as the necessary price to pay for a greater social good.

An ideology of English language use had emerged in pursuit of this goal and was advocated in schools and all educational personnel were expected to support it. The ideology recommended English for the following reasons: 1) English offered the sure route to school achievement and success; 2) English was necessary for the development of a modern society on Guam; 3) English would give individuals good jobs and economic success; and 4) English would provide evidence of assimilation and attachment to America.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LANGUAGE CHOICE

In Odo's (1972) study of language attitudes on Guam, it was found that a significant number of Chamorro parents had a preference for English in interacting with their own children despite their preference for Chamorro in interacting with relatives. The stated reasons for the preference were tied to school success and later success in life. Given the school experience and its ideology of English language use, the Odo results are not surprising. The expressed attitudes merely reflected the strength of the ideology of English language use as it had been articulated through the decades. The attitudes toward Chamorro remained positive (despite any denigration by the school), but the ideology of English had been accepted.

Linguists have sometimes analyzed second language acquisition factors in terms of motivation. The ones most systematically studied have been the integrative factors - defined as desiring a positive relationship with speakers of the language being learned - and instrumental - defined as acquisition for a specific purpose such as getting a job or doing well in school (Lambert &

Gardner, 1968). Sociolinguists have sometimes used the same factors to study language shift in contact situations and, for Guam, this tool for analysis can explain much of what has occurred.

When the ideology of English as developed on Guam is examined in terms of these factors, it becomes clear that the four components are equally divided between the two. The instrumental factor can be seen as operating in the political affiliation and "social good" arguments posited by the ideology. Interestingly, it appears that the most telling factors have been instrumental as evidenced by Odo´s study.

The integrative factors which are strongly related to positive identification with the speakers of the language being acquired have not been as critical. In fact, given the resurgence of Chamorro cultural identity on Guam in the 1970s, any long-term residual effect of desiring positive integration with Americans at the expense of being Chamorro appears to be absent. This is acted out in terms of the expressed attitudes toward the Chamorro and English languages. English is seen as being valuable for practical reasons and in this regard two of the components of the English ideology have been accepted. On the other hand, Chamorro is still held in high esteem and is seen as intrinsically desirable. Consequently, it cannot be held that poor attitudes toward the Chamorro language have led to its reduced presence among the Chamorros of Guam. The ideology of English simply proved too strong a factor in the consciousness of Chamorro speakers who attended Guam´s school before the 1970s. These speakers may have seen the Chamorro language as valuable within the context of Guam society, but the attainment of personal economic and educational goals was seen as being possible (in fact, realizable) only through English acquisition.

The fact that Chamorro is still held in high esteem is remarkable given the experience of Chamorros in Guam´s schools. However, it cannot be assumed that positive attitudes are enough to sustain the language just as the presumed negative attitudes were sufficient to bring about its reduced status. The position of English as a dominant language in Guam is perceived as a practical necessity rather than as a symbol of cultural assimilation (Riley, 1975). Moreover, as Fishman, Cooper & Conrad (1977) pointed out, the correlation between using English and liking English has been found in numerous studies to be very low. In contrast, studies of immigrants to the U.S. and Australia have reported that the immigrant languages were well liked but little used (Fishman, et all, 1977).

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS

The argument that has been advanced here is that the attitudes toward the usage of English have been of greater consequence in Chamorro language loss than poor attitudes toward Chamorro. Moreover, in the development of positive attitudes toward English, an instrumental motivation has been of greater importance than has been integrative motivation. In fact, the integrative motivation in the form of strong positive affective factors in relationship to language attitudes appears to be operating more in favor of Chamorro than English. In this respect, the ideology of English language usage as developed on Guam had been more successful in advertising English as a gateway to personal success rather than as a vehicle to more intimate association with American culture. In confronting this ideology of English, one of the major points to consider is that we are dealing with an ideology and not a theory. Whereas a theory purports to explain reality, ideology in effect attempts to "prescribe what ought to be and contains a distinguishable evaluative, judgemental value" (Appleton, 1983). There is no reason to accept an ideology as an accurate description of reality. In fact quite the contrary, ideologies can never be fully realized since they contain statements of what should be.

However, in the case of Guam, the ideology has been confused with reality and the mere acquisition of English has been seen by many as an immediate solution to pressing social problems and the fulfillment of individual economic aspirations. Such sentiments can stem only from an ideeology of English language usage since the mere acquisition of any language cannot obviously resolve such questions.

In many respects, the value of English has been oversold by the purveyors of the ideology in their recommendations to the Chamorro people. In response, the Chamorro have interpreted it in such a way that language loss has been the result, despite the fact that no one wanted to lose the language. Somewhere in the interplay between giving the ideology to the people and the process of acting it out, the strength of Chamorro has been reduced in the homes of Guam.

This situation leaves many possible lessons for language planners and educators. First, the focus in attitudinal research and attempts to alter the public perception of native language issues should devote as much attention, if not more, to English as well as to the native language in question. Attempting to strengthen positive attitudes toward a weaker language which already enjoys sympathy appears to miss the point of how attitudes operate in a language contact situation. It is not the attitudes toward the weaker language that need realignment, but rather the attitudes toward English. Secondly, the value of English needs to be examined in a realistic vein. While it may be true that English provides access to many necessities in an island society that is associated with the U.S. and undergoing rapid socio-economic change, the ideology of English may be overstating the case. This may not be a deliberate attempt by the purveyors of an English language ideology to identify English with all manner of social and individual good. In fact, they may understand that bilingualism is possible and may be even sympathetic to the issue of native language retention. However, between the sender and receiver, there may be differing perceptions of the meaning of the message. The gap of understanding between a school counselor who tells students to take Business English to "get head" and the parent who speaks English because she has decided it´s in the best interest of her children´s future may be wider than we think.

Lastly, in relationship to schools, we can see that the formation of language attitudes is not a simple matter. Just because the schools generated positive attitudes toward English that impacted the Chamorro language negatively, it does not follow that the reverse can be accomplished through an emphasis on Chamorro language education. The more telling factors in the development of positive attitudes toward English were instrumental rather than integrative. The first ideological component which reflected instrumental motivation was that of school success. Obviously, with a great deal of persistence, a school system may be able to demonstrate this graphically since the definition of success is the system´s to manipulate. The other component (personal economic success) received some validation, although not full substantiation, in the new economic order of Guam after World War II. The Chamorros are still on the wrong end of social and economic change in Guam despite their English-speaking abilities (Underwood, 1981). On the other hand, the attempt to win the hearts of the people through interative motivations was not really as significant or as successful as the ideology. To attempt to use this integrative strategy for native language retention may prove to be similarly ineffective. Moreover, it may be inimical to the cause of language retention in the long run. Government leaders may see the education programs as sufficient mechanisms to maintain the languages and ignore crucial language planning issues and possibilities. The leaders may never get around to developing their own ideology of language usage.

This is not to discount the value of native language of retention effforts in schools. In many respects, they represent the beginning of a healthy process towards realignment of sociolinguistic attitudes. In the case of Guam, the struggle to develop a Chamorro language mandate in public education indicated that a herculian adjustment had taken place in terms of using social institutions to deal with a language retention issue. However, it should be seen only as the beginning step to the recovery of the Chamorro language, not the final leg of the journey. After all, there is still English to deal with.

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AMERICAN POLICIES AND PRACTICES AFFECTING LANGUAGE SHIFT ON GUAM: 1898 - 1950

Rosa S. Palomo
University of California,
Los Angeles
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Fanohge Chamorro put i tano´ -ta
Kanta i matuna-na gi todu i lugat
Para ta onra, para ta gloria
Abiba i isla sin parat
Para ta onra, para ta gloria
Abiba i isla sin parat [1]

This paper begins with the Chamorro translation of the "Guam Hymn" because the song explicitly reminds the indigenous people of Guam and the Marianas to stand up for their land and to honor and glorify her. Implicit in the phrases "Para ta onra, para ta gloria" is respect for the indigenous language and culture. Thompson (1945, pp. 3-7) describes the Chamorro language "as an integrated functioning link between the ancient and modern native culture of Guam." She adds that the language is one of two plausible sources of information concerning the ancient culture of the inhabitants.

The purpose of this paper is three-fold:

1. To document chronologically the practices and policies of the United States Government, as manifested by its U.S. Navy Department, that affected language shift during the years 1898 - 1950.

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[1] *First verse of the "Guam Hymn" written by Dr. Ramon Sablan and translated into Chamorro by Tan Lagrimas Untalan.*

2. To argue, through this documentation, for the type of language shift that has transpired; that is, the shifts from:

Chamorro----------> Spanish or English
Spanish-----------> Chamorro or English
Chamorro----------> Spanish----------> English
Spanish-----------> Chamorro----------> English

3. To offer some speculations as to how the indigenous language of the Marianas has managed to survive in spite of its Spanish and English language infiltration, and in the light of all the practices and policies contained in this paper.

The First Few Years of American Rule

Guam was claimed in the name of Spain by the Portuguese explorer Fernando De Magallanes on March 6, 1521. The island was then ceded to the United States on December 10, 1898, by virtue of the Treaty of Paris when the United States of America won the Spanish American War (Stevens, 1953). On June 20, 1898, quite unexpectedly, the cruiser Charleston, commanded by Captain Henry Glass, USN, steamed into Guam's harbor and demanded that the Spanish governor surrender. It was a peaceful surrender; the Spanish officials were barely aware that their country was at war. Consequently, Governor Don Juan Marina surrendered the following day (Cox, 1904). Although the President of the United States had issued an Executive Order on December 23, 1898, placing Guam under the control of the Department of the Navy, formal possession of Guam did not take place until February 1, 1899 under the command of Commander Edward D. Taussig, USN.

The U.S. Navy found a people who demonstrated bilingual capabilities. The U.S. Navy Department (1905, p.12) notes: "All the inhabitants understand and are able to speak Spanish which is gradually supplanting the native language..."

This same document (p. 10) reports, "about 35 1/2% of entire population could read and write in Spanish; 2,205 were of or below the age of 7, so that of persons above that age about 46% are not literate." Thompson (1942, p. 179) also cites that, "at the end of the Spanish regime there were schools in every village on the island."

During the period of January 22, 1900 to February 20, 1904, a series of Executive Orders were issued relevant to the language policy change issue (appendix). Articles 1, 3, and 4 of General Order No. 12 (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, pp. 15-16), issued on January 22, 1900, by Governor Richard P. Leary state:

> 1. The system of public education in this island is hereby placed under the supervision and exclusive control of the Government, and all necessary expenses for the maintenance of the public schools will be defrayed by the Government.
>
> 3. All children between the ages of 8 years and 14 years must attend school unless excused therefrom by competent authority for good reasons that interfere with their attendance.
>
> 4. Instruction in the English language will be introduced in the public schools as soon as suitable teachers can be provided, and it is expected that the present force of native teachers will cheerfully and harmoniously cooperate with the teachers of English in order that the greatest benefits may be derived by both scholars and preceptors.

The following day, Governor Leary issued General Order No. 12 of which Articles 1, 2, and 4 are relevant (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 17). They state:

> 1. Every adult resident of this island must learn to write his or her own name before the 1st day of July, 1900, unless prevented from doing so by physical disability.
>
> 2. The signature must be plain and legible, suitable for use when required in legal documents or commercial transactions, and must be without ornamentation, scroll, or other rubrical decoration.
>
> 4. All residents are recommended to utilize every available opportunity to learn how to read, write, and speak the English language, thereby improving their own mental condition as well as preparing themselves for assisting their children who are required by law to attend school.

Less than 18 months after the formal establishment of the U.S. Naval Government on Guam, Governor Seaton Schroeder issued General Order No. 25 on September 5, 1900 (U.S. Naval Department, 1905, p. 42). It says:

> 1. All persons employed by the government of the island of Guam are required to take the following oath of allegiance:
>
> "I, ______, do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America; that I will serve them honestly and faithfully, denying all their enemies and opposers whomsoever, and that I will observe and obey the orders of the President of the United States and of the Governor of Guam, and of the officers appointed over me according to the laws governing the island of Guam."
>
> Subscribed and sworn to me this day of _____, A.D. 1900.

2. This oath shall be subscribed to in English, but subscribers to it will be furnished a copy in Spanish if desired.

3. All persons in the employ of the government at the present time shall take this oath on or before the 30th day September, 1900.

The same Governor issued General Order No. 48 on January 17, 1903 (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 58). This order pertained to documents which originated in Guam, bearing the signature and seal of a court of justice and the judge or clerk, and the determination of the authenticity of signatures of private persons. Article 2 of this order states:

2. That the judge or the clerk of the court of first instance shall be authorized to administer oaths for general purposes and to take acknowledgements of signatures of private persons in documents of all kinds; the original certificate of oath or acknowledgment shall be inserted in the document to which it refers, and, upon request therefore, in the English language. The fee for oath or acknowledgement, including certificate therefore, shall be seventy-five hundredths of a dollar Mexican.

On April 4, 1903, Governor William E. Sewell issued General Order No. 54 (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 59). This mandated that monthly salaried government employees entitled to leave of absence with pay must apply for such leave in writing. The request was addressed to the Governor, transmitted to him by the employee´s superior or department head for the Governor´s disposition. Article 4 reads:

"Applications will be written in English in approved form."

Acting Governor Raymond Stone issued General Order No. 76 on February 20, 1904 (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, pp. 81-82), where Articles 6 and 7 state:

> 6. That each bottle or package of medicine dispensed shall have its dosage plainly marked on the label in English, Spanish, or Chamorro, and if a poison shall be marked with the word POISON in red.
>
> 7. That poisons shall not be dispensed to minors. In all cases here a drug or chemical is sold in poisonous quantity the date of sale, the name and residence of the purchaser, the kind and quantity sold, and the ostensible purpose for which it is bought shall be recorded by the dispenser in a book kept for the purpose and known as the POISON BOOK, which book must not be destroyed. The entries shall be made in English. The POISON BOOK and the dispenser's stock shall be subject to inspection at any time by the authorities.

In a span of four years, several actions were taken which explicitly and purposely expressed the desires of the naval administration on Guam. They were cognizant that Spanish was the language of the government at the time of their acquisition of Guam and, more importantly, that there was a need to shift to the English language. The General Orders, in essence, were the weapons employed to attain their goals.

Initial Sentiments of Americans Toward the Spanish Language in Guam

The American Governors sensed that the Spanish language was needed, but only for transitional purposes. Governor Schroeder, for example, was cognizant of the need for an individual literate in Spanish. He expressed his sentiments in a memorandum to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy on February 16, 1901 (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 23), and had asked for a civilian to be appointed to Guam who was able to "speak and read Spanish well." Luckily for him, while awaiting a response to his request from Washington, he had on staff one Ensign A. W. Pressey, USN, whom he appointed judge because of his thorough knowledge of Spanish. In a report to Washington dated July 16, 1902 (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 92), he credits Pressey as being "solely instrumental in redeeming all the events from the chaos which was bound to result from the events of 1898 and 1899."

Shortly after the opening of schools, Governor Schroeder proudly informed Washington about the initiatives taken by officers and local Agana townspeople to set up a circulating library (the Public Library in Agana) which housed books received from the Aguilan Free Library and donations from various individuals (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 31). The collection comprised "both Spanish and English reading matter, novels, hostories, magazines, etc."

On October 26, 1903, Governor M. L. Sewell (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 101), in a letter to Assistant Secretary of the Navy admits, "I have not yet acquired a speaking knowledge of Spanish, and have no knowledge of Chamorro."

The Chamorro language was also recognized, albeit to a lesser degree, as being of some import by the governing powers. This was displayed in the compilation of a Chamorro dictionary (Cox, 1904, pp. 11). However, several years later these same dictionaries were burned by the administration, an act that Ickes (Tansill, 1951, p. 100-101) claims to be one of he U.S. Navy Department´s more unpleasant ones. The sources reviewed offer no explanations for this behavior by the Naval Government. A plausible speculation could be that the administration had come to realize that Chamorro did in fact pose a threat to their plans and a way to counter the threat was to eliminate all literature on Chamorro. Unfortunately, they destroyed a dictionary that they had been very proud of developing and publishing. This is certainly an area that needs further investigation.

Clearly, these citations provide some evidence that the American naval government in Guam recognized and patronized both the Spanish and Chamorro languages from the onset of their government, but that the purpose of this was primarily to ease transition. By 1916, it was reported to Washington (Cox, 1903) that "a knowledge of Spanish is unnecessary, as only about 5% of the population can speak it, and a much larger number can English." [2]

The Role of Religion

Religion in Guam fostered language shift. In 1901, the first American Protestant missionaries arrived on Guam, and eventually converted a few Chamorros. The mission was abandoned in 1910, but the following year Americans from the General Baptism Foreign Missinary Society established itself, once again gaining followers. Services, according to Thompson (1942, p. 148), "are conducted in English."

In 1899 the first American Governor removed the Augustinian priests and in 1901 he replaced them with Spanish Capuchins. Between 1899 and 1901, Father Jose Palomo, the first Chamorro priest "preached to his people in favor of the Americans until his death in 1919" (Thompson, 1942, p. 148-152). In 1909, an occasion occurred whereby German Capuchins "attempted to replace Spanish and native priests;" however, the movement was unsuccessful because they "were not conversant with English, Spanish or Chamorro." Although the Spanish Capuchins were known to have interpreted "the doctrine of the Church in the language of the people," they "propagated a Southern European type of Catholocism and culture." This was said to be a result of their having been brought up in the Basque mountains and having been schooled in conservative monasteries. Quite aware of the fact that the existing priests were not contributing to the Americanization process, Governor George Alexander began a gradual process to replace them with American Capuchin priests "who are familiar with American life and traditions."

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[2] *Although this information was obtained from Cox's (1904) The Island of Guam, the U.S. Naval Government revised it in 1910, 1911, and additionally enlarged it in 1916. Thus, Cox is not to be credited for this information. Lieutenant M.G. Cook, USN, added the particular section where the information is contained in 1916.*

Consequently, two German born naturalized Americans came in 1937, but because they did not know the native language and did not associate with the people, their stay was short-lived. By 1939, in accordance with the new policy, three American-born Capuchins arrived on Guam who "have learned the Chamorro language and seem to be fitting themselves to the needs of the people."

The activities and actions discussed above illustrate that the governing powers employed the assistance of the Church to accomplish its mission; that is, to Americanize the native people of Guam.

The Role of Education

On August 7, 1899, just five months prior to the issuance of General Order No. 12, Governor Leary appointed Lieutenant William E. Safford, USN, in charge of education (Carano, 1964, pp. 14-15). Carano credits Safford as probably being the first person on Guam to hold classes specifically for the teaching of English. These courses were conducted three nights a week. Safford's notebook, dated October 2, 1899, described his night school and his methodology for teaching English. He writes:

> "...I usually begin by pointing to various objects and pronouncing the corresponding English names. My pupils repeat the words after me; then I teach them a few adjectives, such as long, short; thick, thin; hard, soft; illustrating the meaning by objects having these attributes; then a few words, such as walk, sit, stand, fall, catch, see, hear, speak..."

He also noted that "the youngest do the best."

Formal schooling and public instruction in English commenced on October 1, 1901, under the efforts of Mr. H. H. Hiatt who was assisted by his wife and daughter, a couple of non-commissioned officers, and a "fairly competent young Chamorro woman" (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 10). The schools in Agana, Asan, and Agat devoted the school day to "English and arithmetic (in English)" (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 11). However, schools were closed in 1902, for "lack of school buildings and teachers of English" and it was not until June 13, 1904, that they were reopened by Governor Dyer (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 15). By 1904, of the 2,300 Chamorro children between the ages of 6 and 14, only 353 were receiving public instruction in English. An additional 100 children were in Catholic schools spread out in the rural areas, where they received instruction in Spanish (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 106). Suffice to say that in the six years of American occupation, the Chamorro children were virtually without schools.

Article 4 of General Order No. 12 was not taken lightly by the school officials and personnel. Cox (1904, p. 76) reports:

> "The instruction given in the primary grades is elementary, the purpose being to give the children a practical working knowledge of every-day English and the rudiments of arithmetic. The course in the grammar school embraces English grammar, geography, U.S. history, and more advanced arithmetic."

Instruction was so unsuccessful that questions students had been drilled on and supposedly acquired competency in answering in the classroom were not responded to correctly or appropriately "when put to them on the street or elsewhere" by officials and strangers. Cox (1904, pp. 76-77) pleads that all the new learners needed was "a little patience and kindness of manner" which "usually results in a satisfactory, if diffident, reply."

By 1905, the compulsory public educational system was well underway. In the beginning, imported and local English speaking teachers were employed and eventually natives were trained. A private night school was organized by experienced teachers to meet the need for instruction in English and elementary school subjects, especially for those working in the government (Thompson, 1942, pp. 183-187). Between 1911 and 1916, the private night school had expanded its curriculum to also include history and mathematics as well as instruction in English.

A major reorganization of the public educational system, led by trained American educators, occurred in 1922. This resulted in the revision of the course of study and general laws relating to schools. It was at this time that schools on Guam were patterned after the California system. Now, "all instruction was in English, and Chamorro was prohibited in schools and on playgrounds (Thompson, 1942, p. 179-181). This was also supposed to result in a policy change; but really, one with only a different cover. The fundamental policy of the department of education became:

> "Academic. To maintain and improve the present school system and methods of education so that the individual may be prepared for happy and efficient living in his community; to promote the use of the English language as a medium of speech among all the people; and to foster character building activities."

In 1923, not only was the first full-fledged high school on Guam organized, but also "compulsory normal school for native teachers was opened where pedagogy, physiology and hygiene, craft work, English arithmetic, history, and geography were taught" (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 180; Carano, 1964, p. 16). Of the 189 teachers in the system, there were six American teachers. They were responsible for instructing approximately 30 American students in two public schools specifically for Americans, while the remaining 183 native teachers were charged with Chamorro students spread out in 28 public schools. They implemented the newly revised elementary school curriculum which included English, simple arithmetic, local and American history, local and world geography, and tropical hygiene (Thompson, 1942, pp. 182-183). Except for local history, geography, and tropical hygiene, all textbooks were imported. Additionally, the local teacher supplemented academic instruction with full compulsory training in carpentry, netting, plaiting, sewing, and cooking. Agriculture was highly encouraged for four reasons: 1) To make farm work more attractive to youth; 2) to demonstrate better farm practices; 3) to train for rural leadership; and 3) to induce youth to remain in the island.

What was the Catholic church doing all this time? The Spanish padres did not allow the indigenous people to read the Bible. However, they prepared a sacred history of the Church for them in Chamorro which they were given to read and keep (Thompson, 1942, pp. 151, 185). One can only speculate as to why Chamorros were not allowed to read the Bible for themselves. Perhaps, the padres realized that the Chamorros were not literate enough in Spanish to be able to read and understand it. This, of course, brings up the question of how literate the Spanish priests wanted the people to be. Thompson also reports that part-time Catholic schools were attended after regular school hours by most children between 6 to 12 years of age for an hour a day, five days a week in Agana, and a couple of days a week in areas not having a resident priest. Here, children were taught Bible history and catechism by both priests and a few lay teachers.[3] "Instruction during the first three years is in Chamorro, thereafter in English."

In spite of all the efforts made to train the native teachers of Guam, an assessment of their abilities conducted in 1938 showed that the average level of Guam teachers was "6th month of eighth grade." Thompson (1942, p. 188-189) notes: "The most outstanding problem is training teachers in comprehension in reading and speaking the English language." Furthermore, she observes: "Although only 16.5% of the people were officially reported as illiterate in 1930, most of the people, at least those over the age of 35, cannot speak, read or write the English language." To meet the need for adult education, especially for the native teacher, more evening classes and elementary school subjects were implemented between 1934-36, but discontinued "due to lack of interest by natives."

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[3] *This is known as Eskuelan Pale' (the priest's school) or catechism.*

World War II

WWII and Japanese forces took over Guam in December, 1941, and occupied it until August of 1944. Stevens (1953, p. 186) notes:

> "The Japanese invaders first were intent upon destroying every remaining vestige of American power and culture, and next in converting the people of Guam to their own way of thinking as they had endeavored in every country which they had overrun in the previous year. They began a long reign of enforced education in the Japanese language, catering to members of the Japanese armed forces, and producing what few goods were available, for use by the Japanese Empire. No English could be spoken or read in the territory, and the Japanese erased, by force when necessary, any sign of friendliness to our rememberance of America."

Three Observations

The observations made by three people serve as apt conclusions to the review of developments and consequences in the period of 1898-1950. Thompson was commissioned by the U.S. Navy Department to elucidate some of the basic problems in native education. The commission stemmed from the recognition that the educational system implemented by the Navy was "not entirely meeting the needs of the island life" (Thompson, 1942, pp. 1, 189). Thompson notes:

> "The American public school system in Guam...designed to induct American youth into the American type of political, social and economic life, it cannot be expected to fulfill adequately the needs of the natives of a typical island under military rule on the margin of the Orient where, as we have seen, social, economic and political conditions

differ markedly from those on the American mainland."

Furthermore, Thompson (1942, p. 237) classified Guam's basic educational problem in relation to child development and native life in four groups: "problems of discipline and socialization; problems in thought and expression; problems in economic orientation; and problems in individual variations and adjustment." She had offered suggestions for ways to enhance thought and expression among the Chamorro children, but these were virtually ignored by the government.

Tansill (1951, p. 17) makes the following comments: "The Chamorro tongue is essentially the only evidence of the pre-Spanish culture; the older dialect not infrequently is still heard, although all Guamanians speak English, the official language." He adds (p. 35): "English generally is the language of instruction in all schools, although Spanish is offered as a language elective in the high school. The literacy rate in 1940, covering all persons ten years and older, was 84.4 percent." These comments are noteworthy for four reasons: 1) In spite of all that had transpired in the history of Chamorro language use by the indigenous population, Tansill explicitly tells us that up until 1951 at least, Chamorro was still a language spoken widely, although it was his view that all Guamanians spoke English; 2) he is the only one who makes reference to English as the official language of Guam prior to the passage of the Organic Act of Guam; 3) by 1950, Spanish seems to have disappeared in its use by the community and now only enjoys the status of being an elective foreign language course; and, 4) although he was not the only one, he makes note of the literacy rate among the native population; and his estimate (84.4%) is the highest. Research is needed on how literacy and illiteracy statements were arrived at and what criteria were developed as their basis.

In contrast, Stevens (1953, pp. 38, 67) notes:

> "English is the standard language of the island, and American currency is the only currency recognized in

> daily exchange. However, the Chamorro language, which is heavily infiltrated with Spanish words, is utilized extensively throughout the island, both at work and at home. English has been used extensively for so few years that many Guamanians are not fluent in its use."

He also notes that education is one of the territory's principal problems.

The comments of Tansill and Stevens are contrary and one cannot dismiss them easily. On the one hand, the Chamorros had a high literacy rate; on the other hand, they did not employ English fluently. Which is which? Basic to this problem is not only the U.S. Navy's insensitivity to the people, language and culture of Guam, but also their lack of adequate assessment of the problems, and more importantly, their response or lack of response to the plausible solutions offered and recommended on behalf of the natives of Guam.

How Has the Chamorro Language Continued to Survive

It is clear from the aforementioned that the language shift that took place in Guam at the very onset of American rule was from Spanish to English. Several years later, Spanish usage diminished and Chamorro became more prevalent. The shift then went from Chamorro to English. The Americanization process on Guam placed emphasis on the widespread use of English not only as the medium of instruction, but as the medium of speech. How has the Chamorro language survived in spite of the impositions placed on it by the Spanish and American colonizers? I offer six speculations.

First, from the onset, the American naval government was preoccupied with eliminating Spanish, the more competitive language. When they first arrived, Spanish was found to be the language used in the official domain.

Second, the blatant segregation of native and American teachers and children contributed to the survival and maintenance of the Chamorro language. The policy of employing American teachers only for American children and native teacher training purposes left the native teachers responsible for the total education of the native children. Assuming that the literature is accurate about the lack of English proficiency of both teachers and students, it is reasonable to hypothesize that, in an effort to enhance learning, teachers used a significant amount of bilingual instruction in the classroom, probably with more Chamorro language use than English.

Third, retention of the Spanish priests certainly enhanced and fostered Chamorro language usage and to some degree literacy. According to all the accounts reviewed, these priests were bilingual in Spanish and Chamorro. Perhaps they were not threatened by Chamorro because their presence was of a religious rather than a truly political nature. They were more concerned with converting pagans to Christianity than developing a mini-Spain or mini-Mexico. While they taught in Spanish, the Spanish priests used the language of the people to teach about and to convert to Christianity. For example, they wrote the catechisms and the church's history in Chamorro for the people to read.

Fourth, one may hypothesize that the Chamorro people did not view their language as a threat to the U.S. naval government. They may have felt that the Americans were initially trying to eradicate Spanish, not Chamorro. The only time they were forced to use or shift to English was when they had to conduct official business. Based on the literature, it seems that the only times the farmers conducted official business was when they had to pay taxes. How much business is that and how much English language is required to accomplish the task? The great majority of the time, the Chamorros were left alone and consequently continued to use Chamorro at home and on the streets. There seemed to be a clear delineation in the roles of the two languages.

Fifth, the American naval government demonstrated that it did not want Americans to mix with the natives. American children went to a separate school, taught by people like themselves. Their military personnel were forbidden to live with the natives and were punished if they were caught. Furthermore, they had their own premises - with fences with barbed wire facing out, stores, movies, theaters, markets, gas stations. There was an unspoken policy and attitude of the American side versus the native side.

The last speculation, and a frankly emotional one, is that the language survived because of the strength of the Chamorro people. They endured 377 years of Spanish domination, and although the vocabulary of their language was extensively influenced by Spanish, they still maintained the unique grammatical structure of Chamorro. If this 377 years did not result in the complete assimilation of Chamorro to Spanish, then it is understandable why 52 years of Americanization could not do what the Spanish had failed to do. Most certainly, the Chamorros were and are a strong people who stand up for their land, their language, and their culture. They have honored, glorified, and respected them.

U todu i tiempo i pas para hita
Yan ginen i langet na bendision
Kontra i peligru, na´fan safo´ ham
Yu´os protehi i islan Guahan.
Konta i peligru, na´fan safo´ ham
Yu´os protehi i islan Guahan.[4]

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[4] *Second verse to the "Guam Hymn."*

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APPENDIX

General Order
No. 25

Government House,
Agana, Guam, September 5, 1900

1. All persons employed by the government of the island of Guam are required to take the following oath of allegiance:

I, ________, do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America: that I will serve them honestly and faithfully, denying all their enemies and opposers whomsoever, and that I will observe and obey the orders the President of the United States and of the governor of Guam, and of the officers appointed over me according to the laws governing the island of Guam.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this day of
, A.D. 190 .

2. This oath shall be subscribed to in English, but subscribers to it will be furnished a copy in Spanish if desired.

3. All persons in the employ of the government at the present time shall take this oath on or before the 30th day of September, 1900.

Seaton Schroeder, U.S. Navy
Governor

General Order
No. 48

Government House
Agana, Guam, January 17, 1903

It is hereby ordered and decreed:

1. That whenever a document shall purport to have originated in territory under the jurisdiction of the United States of America and to bear the signature and seal of a notary public or the seal of a court of justice and the signature of the judge or clerk thereof, said document shall be presumed to be authentic; provided that such presumption shall be deemed disputable and may be controverted by evidence.

2. That the judge or the clerk of the court of first instance shall be authorized to administer oaths for general purposes and to take acknowledgments of signatures of private persons in documents of all kinds: the original certificate of oath or acknowledgment shall be inserted in the document to which it refers, and, upon request therefor, in the English language. The fee for oath or acknowledgment, including certificate therefor, shall be seventy-five hundredths of a dollar Mexican.

3. That on petition of the interested party it shall be the duty of the clerk of the court of first instance to issue a plain copy, without seal or signature, of the record of any judicial proceedings held on petition for possessory title to real property: the fee therefor shall be one and one-half dollars Mexican.

Seaton Schroeder, U.S. Navy,
Governor

General Order

Government House,

No. 76 Agana, Guam, February 20, 1904

It is hereby ordered and decreed:

1. That the prescribing or selling of medicines by any persons other than the naval medical authorities of this island to enlisted men of the Navy or Marine Corps on duty at this naval station is hereby prohibited.

2. That the naval authorities in the island of Guam will continue, as heretofore, to maintain dispensaries for the benefit of the inhabitants, where medicines will be dispensed without cost.

3. That on and after July 1, 1904, the importation and sale of drugs, medicines, and disinfectants in this island is prohibited to all private persons except those who may be duly licensed as dispensers as hereinafter provided.

4. That any person desirous of obtaining a license as a dispenser, with the right to sell medicine after July 1, 1904, must persent himself on June 15, 1904, or on such subsequent date in any year as may be fixed by authority, to the head of the department of health and charities for examination as to his qualifications. To qualified persons licenses will be issued without fee.

5. That in the stock of drugs, medicines, and disinfectants kept by a dispenser under such license, each bottle or other package shall be plainly labeled with the name of its contents in English and its dose, and every poison shall be labeled with the word POISON in conspicuous red letters.

6. That each bottle or package of medicine dispensed shall have its dosage plainly marked on the label in English, Spanish, or Chamorro, and if a poison shall be marked with the word POISON in red.

7. That poisons shall not be dispensed to minors. In all cases where a drug or chemical is sold in poisonous quantity the date of sale, the name and residence of the purchaser, the kind and quantity sold, and the ostensible purpose for which it is bought shall be recorded by the dispenser in a book kept for the purpose and known as the POISON BOOK, which book must not be destroyed. The entries shall be made in English. The POISON BOOK and the dispenser's stock shall be subject to inspection at any time by the authorities.

8. That a licensed dispenser shall attend personally to the dispensing of his medicines, and shall not permit any unlicensed and unqualified employee to act in his stead.

9. That cognizance of offenses under the provisions of this order shall rest with the justices of peace.

10. That the following penalties are prescribed for infractions of this order:

(a) For violation of paragraph 1, a fine of from $10 Mexican to $50 Mexican, and confiscation of stock of medicines and drugs.

(b) For infraction of paragraph 3, a fine of from $5 Mexican to $25 Mexican, and confiscation of stock of medicines and drugs.

(c) For infraction of paragraphs 5, 6, 7, and 8: for first offense a fine of $5 Mexican, for second offense a fine of $10 Mexican, for third offense revocation of license: provided that for dispensing poisons to a minor under 18 years of age a fine of $50 Mexican shall be imposed, and the dispenser's license, if any, shall be revoked.

11. That all drugs, medicines, and disinfectants confiscated for violation of this general order shall be delivered to the department of health and charities.

12. That all laws, or parts of laws, inconsistent with this order are hereby abrogated.

Raymond Stone,
Lieutenant, U.S. Navy, Acting Governor

General Order

Government House,

No. 12 Agana, Guam, January 22, 1900

1. The system of public education in this island is hereby placed under the supervision and exclusive control of the Government, and all nece-sary expenses for the maintenance of the public schools will be defrayed by the Government.

2. Religious instruction in favor of any particular church or creed is prohibited, and all religious training heretofore required by the late school customs or rules must be eliminated from the course of instruction, as the proper place for religious teaching is the home circle, church, chapel, or Sunday school.

3. All children between the ages of 8 years and 14 years must attend school unless excused therefrom by competent authority for good reasons that interfere with their attendance.

4. Instruction in the English language will be introduced in the public schools as soon as suitable teachers can be provided, and it is expected that the present force of native teachers will cheerfully and harmoniously cooperate with the teachers of English in order that the greatest benefits may be derived by both scholars and preceptors.

Richard P. Leary, U.S. Navy,
Governor

General Order

Government House,

No. 13 Agana, Guam, January 23, 1900

1. Every adult resident of this island must learn to write his or her own name before the 1st day of July, 1900, unless prevented from doing so by physical disability.

2. The signature must be plain and legible, suitable for use when required in legal documents or commercial transactions, and must be without ornamentation, scroll, or other rubrical decoration.

3. Any citizen may procure from the Government a suitable sample of his or her written name for use as a copy to be imitated in practice and instruction.

4. All residents are recommended to utilize every available opportunity to learn how to read, write, and speak the English language, thereby improving their own mental condition as well as preparing themselves for assisting their children who are required by law to attend school.

Richard P. Leary, U.S. Navy,
Governor

General Order

Government House

No. 54 Agana, Guam, April 4, 1903

It is hereby ordered and decreed:

1. That there shall be allowed to all employees of the island government whose salary is payable monthly leave of absence with pay, not to exceed six days in each calendar year, January 1 to December 31, inclusive.

2. That except on legal holidays, as prescribed in General Order No. 26, no office will be closed unless all of the monthly paid employees thereof have applied for leave a reasonable time in advance and such applications have been granted.

3. Applications for such leave of absence must be addressed to the governor and forwarded to him through the immediate superior or head of department, who will indorse thereon his approval or disapproval: and records of all leave granted shall be kept in the executive office.

4. Applications will be written in English in approved form.

W. E. Sewell, U.S. Navy,
Governor

IS BILINGUAL EDUCATION A FRIEND OR FOE OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF THE MARIANAS?

Samuel Betances
Northeastern Illinois University
Chicago, Illinois

Marianas Language Conference
Saipan, Northern Marianas
January, 1984

We assume that Chamorro and Carolinian are languages worth strengthening, purifying, and perfecting in the homeland of the peoples of the Mariana Islands. Specifically, we mean the indigenous people of Guam, and of the Commonwealth of the Marianas, including the Carolinian Community of Saipan. We also assume that the languages of these two great people of the region are in need of allies; that there is a need to eliminate or neutralize their enemies. The issue of this presentation is to focus on bilingual education and how programs under that label help and/or hinder effective language policy designed to strengthen, purify, and perfect both Chamorro and Carolinian. That we should imply that bilingual education may be an enemy of the indigenous languages mentioned should grab the attention of everyone here. Yet, it is that very possibility that lends a sense of urgency and presses us to consider very carefully whether, in the finalanalysis, bilingual education may become a type of Trojan horse which will help to destroy cultures of the areas, as opposed to creating a great victory.

Let me suggest the approach that I will take in order to answer the question embedded in the title of this brief presentation. My intention is to first outline the significance of language, especially in the context of Pacific Island developing nations. We will then see how economic, political, and material development relates to the non-material aspects of development and consider language as part of the latter concern. We will then see how and why bilingual programs that emerged in the U.S. became part of initiatives in the Marianas, and what a whole generation of educators and policy makers have assumed about such programs. Lastly, we will bring focus and precision to how language development and bilingual programs compliment each other and more importantly, how they can become antagonistic to efforts to maintain, strengthen, and purify indigenous languages in the area. Some suggestions on how to deal with the last problem will be made for your consideration.

Significance of Language

What is a language, and why is it important for an indigenous language to be strengthened, maintained, and purified? Dr.Eduardo Seda-Bonilla of the University of Puerto Rico has said that language is the umbilical cord to culture. A way of life is a culture. It is the material and non-material artifacts that people build in order to enhance their capacity to survive and enrich their collective lives. When a people share a territory, they develop a set of rules called norms, a sense of peoplehood, a capacity to survive economically, and a common way of life. When these elements, plus a language which is a vital part of that culture have emerged, then they have formed a nation. Language is a set of symbols which allows one generation of a nation to pass down to the next the beliefs, rules, attitudes, and significance of that group of people. Through language a people give continuity to their unique way of life. Without a language, a culture eventually fades away and people in the Pacific Island nations face the reality of becoming strangers in their own homeland. It is the unique set of meanings given to sounds which make for the vehicle called language that carry emotion, information, and the glue which hold a people together. Where there is no effort to protect that cultural vehicle, that cultural product, that precious invention called language, the nation will perish.

You see, language is the umbilical cord to culture, and culture is the identity of peoplehood that is unique to the people who have developed it. Don´t lose your identity. Don´t become an extention of other symbols. Another language cannot give you a proper place in history. God in his wisdom saw fit to populate this region with Chamorro and Carolinian. If we are good enough for God, then let us be good enough for American, Japanese, and all other outside forces that challenge our cultural integrity. Let us be good enough for the Church, which for centuries protected our languages. Let our way be good enough for business interests, tourist and otherwise, so that while many make an honest profit, let them also not steal, errode, erase, endanger, or minimize our identity, culture, and way of life. How might all this be done? By obtaining a proper appreciation for the role of language in cultures, and taking steps to help shape policies and programs which strengthen the indigenous languages of the Marianas. This might mean efforts to use indigenous language more often, and in new ways, as well as limiting other languages in the region. But let us at least begin to realize that development of effective language policy is essential to the future security of the region as the homeland of Carolinian and Chamorros!

In summary, language is a systematic set of sounds which carry meanings which make sense and hold together a unique way of life. To lose it or weaken it spells disaster to a particular people. Don't lose it, and in an affirmative posture, search and destroy the enemies of your language and do what you must to maintain it, strengthen it, and to purify it. These island nations are your homeland and you must make these places strong and effective protectors of your right to be. Never forget, the right to be is more important than the right to read! Your policies, of course, ought to help the people both read and be. For that to happen your languages must be protected and proper policies and resources must be assigned to that important task.

Please do not misunderstand my focus on what language is and what language does for a culture. I have concentrated on the place of language in the efforts and struggles for a people to maintain and strengthen their way of life. But languages can do other things, very important things such as transferring information, empowering people with essential skills, and in the process, helping to develop a region or a person. Language is an important vehicle because it gives access to a larger body of information. The more languages you have, the more numerous are the environments in which you benefit and help benefit humankind. The issue for us here is not to argue against the acquisition of a second and third language, but to know that only your mother tongue - your first language, the language of your people - can connect you to your legacy, your way of life.

If you have many languages, except the language of your people, then you are incapable of passing on to the next generation the unique creations, the way of living and being Chamorro and Carolinian. You become an agent of destruction, not construction. You are developing materially and destroying spiritually. You are strong outside and weak inside. You are helping the invasion from within to destroy what the Spanish, Germans, and Japanese were not able to destroy. ALL of this, tragically, will be done or can be done in the era of democracy, freedom, and self-determination. Learn a second language, and while we are at it let it be English. We cannot ignore history; but hold on to your first, lest you destroy with your feet what you have built with your hands.

Keep in mind that while English becomes important to transfer information, helps modernization, and connects you to the world ofideas and information, that English cannot become your umbilical cord to the cultures of the indigenous people of the Marianas, those who trace their historical and cultural personalities to the Pacific Islands since before the Spaniards. English cannot accomplish both functions, neither can Carolinian nor Chamorro. Let us be frank and correct. The oral languages of the region have a limited function as it relates to information necessary for modern development of the region. Could it have happened differently? Perhaps. I don´t know. But what must happen, if the indigenous languages are to survive, is a balance between the efforts to transfer information via English and to transfer culture via Chamorro and Carolinian. Both must be done. It will be costly, yes; but not as costly as destroying a way of life of the people of the Marianas.

Bilingual Education

What problems led U.S. policy makers to develop and implement bilingual education programs and how did such programs reach the Marianas and with what consequences? What impact do these programs have on the efforts to maintain, protect, strengthen and purify indigenous languages in the region? This is the meat of my presentation because bilingual education programs pose the biggest threat to indigenous language development when not properly understood. My sense is that such programs are not properly understood. Let us examine these assumptions. But first, a word about my connection to bilingual education programs.

Bilingual Education has provided me with part of my livelihood. Through funds from such programs, I have managed to grow into a better professional and educator. It was through bilingual education that I was fortunate enough to have come to Guam, and then on to Saipan, Ponape, Western Samoa and other places. Bilingual education has been a friend to me and continues to be just that. It was through such programs that some of us became friends and collegues, and through such programs that many ideas, programs, and lives have found meaning and made their mark. Much more can be said about these programs, and all positive, without dissent or hypocrisy. It is important for us to know and appreciate this before you begin to consider my critique of why I believe that bilingual education is not always a friend to our efforts to develop effective language policies in developing islands. This will not be easy to do, but let us begin.

First, we have to understand how federally funded bilingual education programs originated and what they were intended to do. These programs were designed to bring fiscal relief to schools in Texas and the southwestern part of the U.S., as part of a policy initiative established by the Kennedy-Johnson administrations, to fight proverty. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act provided funds for supplementing educational programs in largely urban-Black schools in the north. The problem of being Black and poor was attacked by the federal government by paying monies into northern urban ghettos. But what about the southwest? Texas had its own ghettos, which were called barrios. Surely, it was reasoned, language groups have as much right to be used as an excuse to pay money into urban school systems as racial groups. In the end, the issue of helping Mexican-Americans get out of poverty through education meant the creation of bilingual education programs. The issue of not knowing English well was highlighted. The new programs saw the goal of helping Chicano school children master English as part of the solution for getting such youth out of poverty. Bilingual education funds were made available to school systems under the premise that limited-English speakers had to be taught good English; and, that it was o.k., until that goal was achieved, to teach them the curriculum of math and science in the language they knew. In other words, a transition would take place from Spanish into English. Both languages would be used; but only one would continue. In the process of teaching the children their curriculum, teachers could actually teach their students a proper understanding of their first language! In other words, some of the principles of language policy development would be implemented; but again, not for long.

Imagine an effort to put astronauts in orbit. The rockets which launch the capsule is both Spanish and English but the capsule is all English. Once the rockets do their work of putting the capsule into the American orbit, then the rocket booster is discarded into the sea, and is no longer useful. Bilingual programs were constructed to help launch limited-English speakers into the American orbit of proper English, but once the transition is complete, the mother tongue of the children has accomplished its purpose and is properly discarded by this transition view of history.

Also keep in mind that bilingual educational programs were designed to help solve a U.S. continental problem, as viewed by those who wanted to get federal dollars to benefit more than one group of people. In this sense, one does not have to agree with the assumptions of the policy makers. What we have to do here in Saipan, is to note the limits and inappropriatness of these assumptions to the issue of developing Pacific Island nations, where the issue of self-determination has yet to be effectively addressed. Bilingual programs were designed to help young people in the U.S., not those on the distant shores of the Marianas.

The problem in the U.S., as eventually defined by the U.S.Supreme Court, can best be summed up as one of making instruction understandable. If a person goes to the U.S. and hopes to make progress in the public schools, then that person must learn the language of the society, which is English. One is handicapped not knowing Japanese in Kyoto or Tokyo. I suspect, that one is handicapped not knowing Carolinian in Tanapag Harbor, Saipan. The point here is to note the issue of how not to know a language can hurt you. By the way, we do not suggest that knowing a language other than the one used in a particular society is a handicap; though one cannot use it in that society. When I go to Japan, I am not handicapped because I know Spanish or English, I am handicapped in NOT knowing Japanese. Let us not confuse the issues. Bilingual programs emerged out of U.S. policies designed to integrate limited-English proficient students into the language ofthe society. Bilingual education has this legitimate function, and must be asked to accomplish this in the U.S. But we must bear in mind that bilingual education, as designed and funded, was never given the authority to help people to re-discover, mature, perfect, or strengthen indigenous languages, beyond the limited function of using them as tools for making language minority children proficient in English.

So what is good about bilingual education? These programs recognized that people can learn the subject matter of the school in their first language while they empower themselves with the established majority language, and then continue their quest for knowledge in the new language. These programs assumed that children can express themselves through their mother tongue, while they acquire another language. These programs recognized the need to accomplish the goal of learning English, and eventually they recognized that learning in English is something that should not be hurried to the point that children have to either sink or swim, when a properly designed program can help people swim and achieve goals at a more human pace. These programs allowed a generation of people to find employment, and to help youth appreciate their culture and sub-culture, so as to make the transition less painful. These programs gave us a lot of good experiences that have enhanced our capacities to administer programs, write proposals, testify in committees, and they have helped a lot of us to create strong bonds of collegiality. They brought valuable resources and insights into our lives. These and many other good things took place because of bilingual education.

What, if any, are the limits of bilingual education programs in strengthening, developing, and maintaining indigenous languages? We must not lose sight of the fact that these programs never had at their core the goal of developing or strengthening any other language except English on a long term basis. The programs never prohibited enlightened educational leaders in a local situation from pursuing a language policy, but they do not provide a rationale, resources, or encouragement for it to be done!

In summary, bilingual education focused on a problem of communication in the U.S. continental society. In principle, one can reasonably argue that such programs, particularly after Lau (1974), represent bona-fide educational reform. In actuality, such programs no matter how well intended or rationalized, still suffer from having to be processed by an educational system which has a lot of faults and in some context does not adequately know how to make effective readers and writers of those school children entrusted to it. Such programs, however, were never intended to take on the challenge of language policy development in the new and growing American empire.

The Role of Language Policy

Let us examine your language policy goals and see whether these can be addressed by bilingual education at any level for any significant period of time. Your language policies seek to make sure that during the process when another type of transition is taking hold in the Marianas (namely an increased pace of economic development), English becomes a tool designed to help make it come about, but that the people of the Marianas continue to be the indigenous peoples of the Marianas. To use a Pacific illustration closer to the U.S., keep in mind that Hawaiians have not been the main beneficiaries of economic progress in that region. Will the indigenous people of the Marianas be able to make proper adjustments and keep a balance between an established way of life within pressures to adopt to new ways? The answer is conditional on the people of the region drawing a line and saying that this language which can protect our culture and give it continuity must be strengthened, maintained, and developed further. Let us realize that language policy is designed to keep Carolinian people Carolinian, and Chamorro people Chamorro.

Unlike bilingual programs, language policy is designed to insure that one does not lose one´s legacy, while getting new competencies. Language policy seeks to protect a very precious resource, the cultures of the indigenous people of the region. One cannot do this by suggesting that such a responsibility lies only with the home, and only for informal and private moments. To be sure, the home ought to be a central place where the languages are used and strengthened. But the schools, churches, and political arena, as well as the media and the marketplace have to jointly compliment those efforts. Everywhere,the message has to be the same: "This is our homeland. Respect our culture, our ways of being. Ask us to make progress, but not at the expense of our peoplehood." In essence, if only one social institution enforces a belief or a value, but it is not enforced in at least three other institutions, then the message received by all is garbled and confused. Worse, it becomes contradictory in nature.

Bilingual education has brought a sensitivity to the region about languages; but not about language policy for the long run. These programs have given the impression that the issue for language and culture belongs with public schools, that money comes from Washington D.C., and that bilingual education has to do with grass skirts, old styles of fishing, respect for one´s elders, and an obsession with latte stones and mwaramwars. But culture is much more than that. Culture has to do with the new rules and languages which bring laws and customs that are foreign and indifferent to the traditional and better ways of dealing with crime, and sharing, for example. There is much that outsiders have to know, but if they choose not to learn, let them not become obstacles to your self-determined systems of religion, commerce, education, and ways of looking at the world.

Why is it that the people of the region know how many Japanese died and how many Americans died for the battle of Saipan; but not how many Carolinians and Chamorros died in that conflict? Why not establish a day to remember the sacrifice of people who die in wars not of their making. Where are the protections from those who agree with the principle of eminent domain, which endangers the land tenure traditions? Why are there protections for those who negotiated these conditions, and then with inside information, rushed to purchase real estate for speculative resale, thereby making themselves wealthy at the expense of a unique way of life, bounded by tradition?

In the end, if you do not protect your language and culture, if you do not write history so that it can answer the questions you and your children need to have answered, and that your children's children need answered, then we are doomed, before we take another step in this journey.

How does the flag represent you? How does the curriculum in your schools represent you? How do the T.V. programs in your land represent you? How does the church in its masses and in what it expects from the priest it assigns here, represent you? How do these things represent you?

To run for public office one must speak one of the indigenous languages of the region. Why not? Why can't debates, analyses, and testimony take place in the languages of your homeland even if it inconveniences the few. Wny not require job holders in the public sector to have knowledge of the language of the people? What about the future of the people of the region? This land must belong to the people of the land. Language policy has political, economic, spiritual, and educational consequences. My guess is that bilingual programs, to the degree that they are designed to do what those programs are officially designed to do in the U.S., ultimately threaten the very survival of the languages of the people that they austensibly protect.

It is to the credit of the educational leaders of this region that bilingual programs have been made to help develop language policy; but unless the people who make the local budgets understand that the responsibility lies with every branch of their governments and not principally with Washington, D.C., then language policy will continue to be confused with understandable instruction.

Bilingual education - specifically, the transitional model of bilingual education - is not for everyone. It is for those who need to operate in the educational system of the U.S., and who happen to be in the U.S. If, for example, Chamorro is the language of instruction in Rota, then non-Chamorro speakers might need a transitional bilingual program to use English for a little while, until they acquire the language of the society. But language policy is for everyone. Let us work to see what needs to be done to make this land truly the land of the indigenous people. It is this set of needs that will outline the form that effective language policy will take.

Do not assure that bilingual programs represent language policy. They do not, and they will not, and they should not. My sense is that until you seperate the issues, and get out of the bilingual program mind set, that no effective policy will develop. In the end, the region will suffer, and a fragile way of life will be sapped. Let us make sure that because of this gathering, for as long as time shall last, the Chamorro and Carolinian ways of life will be made stronger and healthier. Bilingual programs have been our friends up to this point; but if we fail to develop language policy, then they will become another type of foodstamp program, creating dependency and taking us into an orbit where we will be eternal strangers in our own homelands.

CHAMORRO CHILD LANGUAGE[1]

Carol Odo
Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute
November, 1971

The purpose of this research was to gather and analyze language data on four to seven year old Chamorro speaking children.[2] The specific objectives were to discover recurrent syntactic patterns within these data, and to write a general description of the lexicon of children in this age group. As such, the nature of this research is purely linguistic.

The principal target area was the island of Guam, although the islands of Saipan and Rota were also investigated. The field research plan, as formulated in Spring, 1971, was to contact approximately 50 informants within the period from June 17 through August 17, 1971. Due to this limited period of field research, the general or overview nature of this report should be noted.

In Guam, children are exposed to a generally bilingual environment. Many of their older relatives (grandparents´ generation) are monolingual in Chamorro; however, their parents and older siblings are usually fluent in both Chamorro and English.

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[1] *This research was funded by the Guam Department of Education via a subcontract from Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory to the Pacific Asian Language Institute of the University of Hawaii.*

[2] *The term Guamanian was used in the original report to denote persons of Chamorro ancestry who live in Guam. This term has been replaced in this edited version with the term Chamorro, with island of residence specified, because the latter conforms to current usage and is more definitive.*

Until recently, the schools have been conducted exclusively in English. Perhaps to prepare children for this school system, many parents encourage their children to speak only in English (personal observation). As a result, many Chamorro children are not fluent in the Chamorro language. All informants showed at least a passive knowledge of Chamorro. However, not all had the verbal proficiency observed in monolingual Saipanese and Rotanese informants.

Previous work on child language has established that the children are basically fluent in their primary languages by the age of five years. Their grammar corresponds directly to the adult model. There are no syntactic patterns peculiar to this age, although children do not fully control rule exceptions, multiple embeddings, and stylistic devices. This might suggest that the present research is unnecessary and that one could proceed, for example, to develop curricula and instructional plans with no other guidelines. However, in cultural environments such as Guam, with its slightly assymmetrical bilingual situation, strange things can happen to language. When children are discouraged from speaking the language they hear most often, a certain amount of linguistic confusion is bound to appear. This confusion would affect children's total linguistic reportoires, which in the case of Guam, means both their Chamorro and their English.

Assume then that the Chamorro child's language will look a great deal, but not exactly, like the adult's. The best and most fruitful approach to analysis here would be to investigate recurrent deviations or mistakes, if any. These deviations can also be expected to form their own patterns.

METHOD

Participants

Language characteristics, whether deviant or normal, should be shared by all members of a single speech community. Most of the informants interviewed in Guam were not below five nor over six years in age, were from bilingual families, and in these respects constitute a single speech community.

The term bilingual will be used in the analysis to refer to Chamorro informants from Guam, while monolingual will refer to Chamorro informants from Saipan and Rota.

In general, the informants were selected at random with the assistance of interested adults in the community . More than 50 informants were observed. Tape recordings were made of the speech of 35 children from among these 50.[3]

Procedures

Elicitation of Informal Speech. Field procedures were principally designed for the elicitation of natural spontaneous speech. While the problem of speech monitoring and subsequent hypercorrecting is negligible in this age group, getting any verbal response at all is the major obstacle. To put the young informant at ease, the first confrontation was usually a trip to the beach or playground in the company of the informant's siblings or peers. To provide more stimulus to speech, the children were given creative toys, coloring books, and marbles. Most of the children were met with at least twice in this context. The use of English was strongly discouraged by the interviewer. Speech was elicited by a native speaker assistant, usually an older child, and by the author, a non-native, second-language learner of Chamorro.

Formal Elicitation of Speech. Partly to introduce a constant into the data and partly to test for the informants' knowledge of certain grammatical processes, each child was shown a series of pictures and asked to described them. For example, if the picture showed a boy playing ball, the interviewer asked: "Hafa bidada-na i lahi?" (What is the boy doing?) Since the pictures showed varying numbers of people doing things (e.g., playing ball, digging holes), the progressive form of the verb and plural markers could be tested. Not all informants responded positively to this test, but those who did were fairly consistent in their responses.

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[3] *The author is indebted to Mrs. Hermina Aflague, Mrs. Bernadita Dungca, Sister Mary Margarita, Miss Carol Mihalko, and Miss Teresita Taitano.*

Selection of Speech Samples

The speech of 35 informants was taped. Of these, the data of 13 informants were transcribed and used in the analysis.[4] The choice was determined largely by the sound quality of the tapes although geographic and age representation were also important. Age and geographic distribution of the informants who provided the speech samples analyzed are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Informant Age and Residence

No. of Informants	Age	Village	Island
5	6	Mangilao	Guam
1	6	Songsong	Rota
1	5	Yona	Guam
1	5	Mangilao	Guam
1	5	Dededo	Guam
1	5	Barrigada	Guam
1	5	Songsong	Rota
1	4	Tanapag	Saipan
1	3	Tanapag	Saipan

The omission of seven year old informants was intentional. Preliminary analysis of this age among several bilingual informants revealed linguistic competence and control comparable to the adult, and further study was felt unnecessary.

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[4] *With the generous assistance of Mrs. Bernadita Dungca, Sister Maria Juanita, and Miss Rosa Salas.*

RESULTS

Table 2 shows x´s marked where the grammatical form in question is present and correctly used in the data. Circled x´s mark where the form is used almost always incorrectly. The data presented here is merely the informant´s speech as recorded by the researcher, often in only two sessions of one to three hours length. As such, the blank spaces mean that the form is not present within these periods, not that the child never uses it. Conspicuous blanks, however, do have significance and will be discussed later.

Certain grammatical categories such as personal and demonstrative pronouns are omitted from Table 2 because of their consistently correct usage. Other categories were also excluded, such as the prefixes mi-, la-, and an-, which were not present in any of the informants´ speech.

Note also that Chamorro words do not easily fall into traditional English classes, and the designations "noun," "verb," "adjective," etc., are based purely on sentential context. For example, the word maolek (good) is an adjective in the following context:

Eyugue´ maolek na kareta. (That´s a good car.)

But, the same word is a verb in the following sentence:

Esta ha fa´maolek i kareta. (He fixed the car.)

Table 2

Data Configurations

				Sentence Type -- Focus					Syntax	
Infor mang #	Age	Island	Language	Non	Actor	Goal	Refer- ential	Bene- factive	Compound Sentence	Comp. 1 Emb.
1	6	Guam	Bilingual	x	x	x[1]				
2	6	Guam	Bilingual	x	x	x[1]			x	x
3	6	Guam	Bilingual	x	x					
4	6	Guam	Bilingual	x	x					x
5	6	Guam	Bilingual	x	x					x
6	5	Guam	Bilingual	x	x					x
7	5	Guam	Bilingual	x	x	x[1]			x	x
8	5	Guam	Bilingual	x	x	x	x		x	x
9	5	Guam	Bilingual	x	x				x	x
10	6	Rota	Monolingual	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
11	5	Rota	Monolingual	x	x	x	x		x	x
12	4	Saipan	Monolingual	x	x	x			x	x
13	3	Saipan	Monolingual	x	x	⊗			x	x

Use of the single word *Inakka'*.

Sentence Type

Sentence type classification is based on the kind of affix taken by the verb. The types are as follows:

Non-Focus. In non-focus sentences the verb is unaffixed; i.e., only the root is used. An example is:

I palao´an ha li´e´ i lahi. (The girl saw the boy).

This type of sentence, as indicated in Table 2, is used correctly by all informants.

Actor Focus. The same verb, *li´e´*, used above, takes the infix *-um-* in an actor focus construction. The infix is inserted after the first consonant or consonant cluster, if any, of the verb stem. For example:

I palao´an lumi´e´ i lahi. (It was the girl who saw the boy.)

As with non-focus sentences, the informants had no problems with actor focus.

Goal Focus. The goal focus infix is *-in-* and occurs in the same position as *-um-*. An example, using the same verb is:

Lini´e´ i lahi ni´ palao´an. (It was the boy who was seen by the girl.)

Goal focus is comparable to the English passive, which English speaking children acquire later than the active. (Active voice sentences in English are comparable to actor and non-focus.)

Table 2 shows a possible problem area with this sentence type. It occurs either not at all or with extremely low frequency in the data from bilingual informants. Three informants used *-in-* with the single lexical item *akka´*;

however, its scarcity could be due to data limitations. Informant #13 omitted the infix where it should have been included:[5]

*"Na´bulachu ni este?"

In its correct form, this sentence is:

Nina´bulachu ni este? (Are you made drunk with this?)

Informant #11, also a monolingual, had several goal focus sentences and used the correct construction in all verbs except with the word ganna (win). This is shown in the sentence below where manggana should be ginanna.

*Un ganna todudu, un chule´ ha´ todu i mangganna-mu.
Taya´ mangganna-hu." (you won all, you took all your
winnings. I have no winnings.)

Referential Focus. Referential focus sentences involve the addition of the suffix -i to the verbal stem, as in:

Esta hu tugi´i si Avelyn ni katta. (I wrote Avelyn a letter.)

It was not found in the data except among two monolinguals and one bilingual, but was always correct where present.

Benefactive Focus. Benefactive focus basically adds the suffix -yi to the stem. It is used correctly by one speaker, notably, the oldest monolingual informant. One of her sentences combines both goal and benefactive focus.

"Siempre iniyuyi hao." (Something will be done for you.)

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[5] *Sentences between quotation marks are taken from recorded data. Asterisks mark those which are grammatically incorrect.*

Syntax

Compound Sentences. Judging from the frequency of compound sentences, there is every reason to expect that the five and six year old bilingual can handle them competently. These sentences are made up of independent clauses joined by words like *sa´* (because), *yan* (and), *lao* (but), etc. Up to three conjoined clauses were observed in the four year old:

"Mangge si nana-mu yan mangge si tata-mu yan mangge eyu i lahe?" (Where is your mother and where is your father and where is that man?")

Complex sentence. Table 2 indicates that complex sentences with single embeddings occur in the data of nearly all informants. Typically, with bilingual subjects, these sentences used no embedded clause markers (e.g., *na*, *anai*) and were of the form:

"Ilek-mu ya-mu" (You said that you like it.)

With monolinguals, however, clause markers were frequently used.

Doubly or multiply embedded sentences were not expected with present informants. An example of this type of construction is given below. The verbs are doubly underlined. The informant is a seven year old bilingual.

"Ti ha apasi yo´ anai ilek-na para u apasi yo´." (She did not pay me when she said she would pay me.)

One double embedding occurred with the five year old monolinugal:

"Ilekna kao malago´ hao nu este para un huchom este." (She said do you want to close this.)

It suggests that the six year old monolingual can also control more than one embedding.

Morphology

Number agreement. Although all monolingual informants showed correct use of the verb plural and singular affixes, these seemed a major problem area for the bilinguals in Guam. Examples below show the incorrect usage followed by the correct form:

*"Mano´mamak i palao´an." for Umo´o´mak i palao´an. (The girl is bathing.)

*Kumekuentos i doktor." for _Mankuekuntos is mediku siha._
(The doctors are talking.)

*Mangimimen hanom." for _Gumigimen hanom_. (He is drinking water.)

These examples indicate confusion between the plural _man-_ and singular _-um-_. Problems with reduplication are also apparent and these will be discussed below.

Causative and Future. The causative prefix _na´-_ occurs frequently and is always properly used. Similarly, all recorded or elicited forms of the future were correct. With bilinguals the only occurrences of future were with singular subjects which involve no verbal affixation; with monolinguals there were both plural and singular subjects, and the verb was always correctly affixed in these cases.

Reduplication. The rule for verbal reduplication is to copy the accented vowel and its preceding consonant or consonant cluster, if any. The word _bali_, then, would be reduplicated as _babali_. This process is obligatory in expressing continuative or progressive aspect.

One type of incorrect reduplication observed in the data is the copying of the word-final vowel and its preceding consonant; eg., instead of _babali_, _bali_ becomes _*balili_. This is a fairly "natural" deviation since children, in the process of acquiring language, tend to remember the final syllables of words.

Another type of deviant reduplication involves forms such as *sumamaga and *gumimimen *for* sumasaga and gumigimen. *These forms are the result of reordering* two rules which in their correct order are:

1. Reduplicate the verb for progressive aspect; and
2. Affix the verb for an actor focus construction.

In the example *sumamaga the stem saga is first affixed with -um- to derive sumaga and then reduplicated. Since this was also observed in several older children (ages nine through twelve) it is not indicated on Table 2 as being a deviant form.

The reduplication of nouns and adjectives is perhaps more of a stylistic than a grammatical device; and, as expected, is found only in the older monolinguals.

Other. The concept of possession and the related use of iyo- seems to be another source of confusion for the bilingual informants. Normally, possession is indicated by:

1. noun + Possessive Pronoun, e.g., kareta-na (his car)

2. iyo- + Possessive Pronoun + Noun, e.g., iyo-mu kok (your coke)

3. iyo- + n + Proper Noun, e.g., iyon Sera (Sera´s)

Examples of deviant forms found in the data are:

*"Hu pacha iyo-mu kanai-mu." for
Hu pacha i kanai-mu. (I touched your hand.)

*"Para u maigo´ gi iyo-na na kuattto." for
Para u maigo´ gi i kuatto-na. (She is going to sleep in her room.

The possessive pronoun is used redundantly in these examples. This can also be interpreted as the incorrect use of _na_. The informant here is applying the adjective phrase pattern: Adjective + _na_ + noun _as i maolek na taotao_ (fine person) and generalizing incorrectly that the _iyo-_ phrase can also take _na_. Note, however, that the four-year-old monolingual uses it correctly.

Lexicon

Lexical frequency as used here will be the indication of occurrence or non-occurrence of a particular word within the recorded data from each informant. It has not been considered useful for the purposes of this report to give the total occurrences of each word; that is, it is not significant if the child uses a particular word a dozen times or only once. Note again that these words are from data gathered during limited recording sessions and do not represent the informants´ vocabulary. An unequal distribution of the number of words among informants will be apparent and is due to the varying degrees of success in speech elicitation.

In the following pages lexical items are arranged in alphabetical columns followed by brief definitions and identifications of informants using them. The numbers in column three correspond to informant numbers in Table 2. The list does not include grammatical markers or function words.

Table 3
Chamorro Words Used by Informants

Lexical Item	Gloss	Used by Informant#
adahi	to take care	11, 12
agon	really	11
a´nao	having more strength or power	12, 13
akka´	bite	1, 2, 7, 10
aligao	to find, look for	11
alok	to say	6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13
Amigu	friend	10, 11
amot	medicine	12
amotsa	early meal,; breakfast	2
baba	bad	1, 2, 3, 10, 12, 13
baba	open	8, 9, 10, 11,. 12
babui	pig	5, 12, 13
bachet	blind	9
baila	to dance	1, 2, 3
balle	to sweep	9
basiha	to pour out	12, 13
basta	stop	5, 8, 11
bebe´	female sex organ	7
bida	work, undertakings	9
biahi	way	10
boka	eat	1, 2, 3, 4
bokbok	to tak or pull out	1

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bola	ball	1, 1
bula	many	10, 11
bulachu	drunk	13
bunitu	nice, pretty, beautiful	10
chada´	egg	7, 9
chaddek	hurry	7, 9
chalek	laugh	5
chandia	watermelon	10, 11
chiku	kiss	6
chili	male sex organ	1, 7
chinina	dress; shirt	9
chocho	to eat	5, 10
cho´cho´	work	4, 5, 6, 8, 10
cho´me	pour briskly	9
chule´	take	8, 9, 10, 11, 12
dagan	posterior	2, 7
daggao	to throw	10, 12
dagi	to fib; lie	10
dakon	liar	11
dalalak	follow	12
danche	tohit	12
dandan	to play music	11
dankolo	gig; large	9, 10, 11
dangge´	coward	7
didide´	small amount	8
didilok	injector	12
dikike´	small, little	7

doffe´	missing teeth	2
do´do´	break wind	2
dommo´	hit with fist	9
dulok	needle	9
e´chong	crooked	12
egga´	watch	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8
eskuela	school	3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10
espiha	look for	11
esta	O.K.	10
establa	was here	9
fahan	buy	8, 9, 12
fa´gasi	wash	1, 2, 3, 4, 5,
famagu´on	children	2, 4
fana´	face	11
fatta	show	11, 12
flores	flower	1
fotgon	wet	1, 4
fugo´	wring	3, 10
ga´cha´	step on	9
gaige	present	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12
ga´chong	friend	6
ga´ga´	pet	8, 10, 11
ganna	to win	7, 10, 11
gasgas	clean	6
gimen	to drink	all
guaha	have, there is	10

guihan	fish	7
guma´	house	1, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13
gupu	to fly	1, 11, 12
gusse´	quickly	11
hafa	what	8, 9, 10, 11
halom	inside	2, 10
halu´u	shark	7, 10
hanao	to go	2, 7, 10, 11
hanom	water	2
hasso	to remember	12
hatsa	to raise	8, 12
hayi	who	10
yayu	wood	13
hekkua´	I don´t know	8, 9
hilitai	lizard	7
hokok	empty	11
huchom	to close	11
hugando	to play	all
hulo´	up	10
kabayu	horse	11
kahita	box	1
kahulo´	wake up	10
kannai	hand	11
kareta	car	1, 8, 9
kati	cry	3
kommon	toilet	11

konne´	bring	5, 7, 8, 9, 11
kuanto	how many	8, 10
kuatto	room	2
lahi	male	1, 12
laknos	loose	8
lana´	untranslatable expletive	6, 11, 12, 13
lalalo´	angry	12, 13
lepblo	book	10
li´e´	see	9, 10, 11, 13
loffan	haul	8
luchan	west	12
magagu	clothes	7, 10, 11
maigo´	sleep	all
maila´	come, bring	10, 11, 12, 13
maipe	hot	12
ma´post	gone	2, 9
makmata	awake	10, 11
makpo´	finish	9
malago´	want to	9, 10, 12
malagu	run	7, 10, 12
malangu	sick	10, 11
malingu	lost	12, 13
mampos	very	7
mangge	where	6, 11, 12, 13
manha	green coconut	10
mansana	apple	9
maolek	good	8, 10

mata	eye	2, 3, 12, 13
matai	die	12
mattiyo	hammer	2, 5, 12, 13
matto	come	7
meggai	many	9, 10, 11, 12, 13
metgot	strong	13
mohon	hopefully	13
mo´na	in front of	9, 11
mumu	fight	9, 10, 11
munhayan	finish	10, 11, 12
na´	food (classifier)	10, 11, 12
na´i	give	5, 8, 9, 10, 11
na´yan	dish	3
na´ye	pour	10
nana	mother	5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13
nangga	wait	2, 12
neni	baby	2
nifen	teeth	2
nague	haunt	9
odda´	dirt	10
o´mak	bathe	1
otdot	ants	9, 10
pacha	touch	1, 8, 10
pachot	mouth	9
paddet	cement	10, 11
palao´an	woman	1, 2, 12

paluma	bird	1, 2, 3, 5, 9
panglao	crab	7
papa´	down	5, 9, 10
patgon	child	10, 12
peska	fish	12, 13
poddong	fall down	8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13
po´lo	put, place	8, 9, 10, 11
potta	door	10
puenge	evening	9
puno´	kill	13
puti	pain	12
saguan	put in	11, 12, 13
salape´	money	6, 7, 9
sangan	tell	8, 10
saolak	slap	8, 12, 13
saosao	wipe	9
sina	can, be able to	8, 10, 12
sitbesa	beer	11
siya	chair	11
sodda´	find	11
sotta	release	13
suha	move away	11
tago´	order, command	9
taitai	read	10
ta´chong	sit	9, 11
ta´lo	again	7, 9, 10, 13
tampe	cover	12, 13

taotao	person	1, 4, 10
tasi	beach	2, 10, 11
tata	father	8, 9, 12, 13
tatte	behind, back of	9, 11, 12
taya´	none	6, 9, 10, 11
tenda	store	2, 9
todu	all	8, 10, 11
tohge	stand up	9, 10, 13
toka	hit, beware	6, 8, 10, 12, 13
tufong	count	12
tulompo	top (the toy)	10
uchan	rain	1, 2
ulu	head	10, 11
uyu	thing	9, 10, 12
yamak	to break	2, 6, 11
yulang	to break	9, 10, 11, 12, 13
yute´	throw	7, 10, 12

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It was noted earlier that just because a grammatical form does not show up in the data does not mean that the informant does not know how to use it. However, when informants are recorded under similar conditions, certain consipicuous absences of forms, which can also be correlated with cultural factors, become significant. For example notice that referential and benefactive focus are conspicuously absent in bilingual informants.

Other correlations are also apparent. There is a relationship between age among the monolinguals, and their corresponding blank spaces. Table 2, shows a descending number of correctly used forms from oldest to youngest informant. The blank space under Complex Sentence for informant #10 is probably accidental since the form is present in #11, a younger child. We can assume that whatever #11 has #10 has also, since older children are more fluent than younger children. Further, the presence of iyo- in the four year old informant (#12) implies it in the five and six year old as well, and that these too are accidental gaps.

There is also a fairly natural division between monolingual and bilingual, or between Guam and the other islands. (Although between Saipan and Rota, the difference is negligible.) Comparisons between the two groups have been made throughout the analysis. Clearly, the best speakers--those with the most x´s--are the older monolinguals. This reflects both age and cultural differences.

If informants #8 and #9 appear to have a few more categories and fewer consistent deviations, it is due to another extra-linguistic factor: these children are being raised by their grandparents, while the other bilingual children are not.

The patterning of deviations suggests that bilingual children are about two years behind monolinguals in their control of Chamorro. This cannot be established by the present data but is a hypothesis which can be confirmed or rejected by a larger corpus. A comprehensive view of the grammar of bilingual children would require an extension of the categories in Table 2 to include all other grammatical phenomena in Chamorro. A meaningful lexical frequency count would involve elaborate and formal testing; using word association tests, for example. The successful results achieved from elicitation tests for the progressive and plural forms indicate that other syntactic forms can be elicited.

The very basic questions remain: What is the total linguistic repertoire of Chamorro/English bilingual children? What is the input to their developing grammar of Chamorro? Investigations of these questions should determine whether their mistakes are the result of linguistic confusion, or logical generalizations associated with their input data. In addition, the weak areas of their Chamorro grammar--those most subject to the insidious influences of English grammar--should be located.

STUDIES OF CHAMORRO AND ENGLISH ORAL LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY WITH CHAMORRO CHILDREN IN GUAM[1]

Mary L. Spencer
University of Guam
Mangilao

Rosa Palomo
University of California,
Los Angeles

with

Nelia Vela
University of Guam, Mangilao

Compared to all other island entities in the Micronesian Region of the Western Pacific, the Island of Guam has experienced the most intense and most long-enduring foreign impacts. Today, Guam is the center of American military and commercial interests in the area. The international character of contemporary business and political life in Guam has brought a sweeping and fast-paced form of development and "modernizing" change. This foreign presence has drastically altered the sociolinguistic context within which the indigenous Chamorro parents and children of Guam use language.

Underwood (1984) has described the rising prestige and domination of the English language in Guam, and the depressing effect this is believed to have had upon the process by which children acquire Chamorro and upon the range and frequency of occasions at which Chamorro is the language of choice. In the 1970´s, various community leaders and educators in Guam began articulating their perception that the Chamorro language proficiency of Chamorro children in Guam was declining. A vigorous public discussion ensued. These concerns centered upon proficiency in speaking and listening because Chamorro has traditionally been an oral language. Impressions about the Chamorro proficiency of Guam children have usually included intra-island geographic assumptions. The southern villages of Guam still have a more rural quality to them, and their distances from the commercial and military centers decrease contact with English and other foreign pressures. For these reasons, it has generally been assumed that the Chamorro language continues in its most authentic form in the south and that more southern Guam children are proficient in Chamorro.

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Amid public and professional concerns about the preservation and development of the Chamorro language, U.S. federal assistance was sought and obtained for the establishment of a bilingual education program within the Guam public schools in 1971. In 1977 the Guam Legislature appropriated local funds to support 20 minutes per day of mandated Chamorro language instruction in grades 1-6. These programs added proficiency in Chamorro reading to their educational agenda, and a major portion of the efforts in these programs has gone into the development of Chamorro language readers and curriculum materials. This was facilitated by the concurrent development of Chamorro language dictionaries and a reference grammar which formalized and brought official uniformity to the Chamorro orthography (Topping, 1969; Topping, 1973; Topping, Ogo, and Dungca, 1975).

Intertwined with assumptions about the Chamorro language proficiency of Guam's children has been widespread educational concern over their mastery of the English language. Using both U.S. norm-referenced achievement tests and criterion referenced tests keyed to the local curriculum, the public school students of Guam are tested annually in reading and language arts tasks. Recent results on the SRA achievement test fall into a range from the 20th to the 25th percentile, except for grade 1 students who were at the 33rd and 44th percentiles, respectively, in 1984 and 1985 (Guam Department of Education, 1985). Teachers, administrators, and parents frequently link the English achievement test performance of Guam students to the children's presumed experience with the Chamorro language. This is so although results on Chamorro students of varying English and Chamorro proficiency (other factors being equal) have not been aggregated and examined, nor have those of other language groups in the student population. The disproven subtractive view of bilingualism, in which exposure to one language is thought to endanger the development of another language (Cummins, 1981), appears to be widely believed by the Guam public. Parents often report that they speak English and avoid speaking Chamorro to their children in order to enhance the children's chances of success in school and in their economic future.

The public school establishment's response to English achievement test results has been to make improvement of English reading and language arts scores a high priority. As practiced, this priority appears to be implemented most often in terms of a small skills grammar and decoding instructional emphasis. Recent administrative planning speaks of a shifting emphasis to higher order thinking skills, as embodied in the range of activity subsumed by reading comprehension (e.g., generating a main idea, summarizing, inferring, drawing conclusions, evaluating, extending, predicting). Oral English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction is given in the Guam public schools in only some of the instructional settings which receive newly immigrated students. Neither Guam's Chamorro nor immigrant students are systematically assessed for English speaking proficiency. The general assumption is that Chamorro children of Guam have mastered English oral language proficiency, albeit in a somewhat nonstandard way.

In 1982 and 1983 the bilingual program of the Guam public schools sponsored a summer school, Fanayakan. With the intention of evaluating the students' language acquisition progress in Chamorro during the summer program, a language assessment process was designed. In 1982, Fanayakan students were pretested with the Language Assessment Scales I (LAS I, kindergarten to grade 5), and LAS II (grades 6-12), tests of English speaking and listening proficiency (DeAvila and

Duncan, 1977; Duncan and DeAvila, 1978). Students were also pre- and posttested with two newly developed tests of Chamorro oral language proficiency (speaking and listening) - the Sensuran Fino´ Haya (SFH - kindergarten to grade 5) and the Sensuran i Lengguahen Chamorro (SLC - grades 6-12). The SFH and the SLC were constructed so as to be roughly parallel to the LAS. The Chamorro tests were again administered in the summer of 1983. The results of this testing program provide the first empirical test that has been made of assumptions about the Chamorro and English oral language proficiency of Guam´s Chamorro children. The students tested were not systematically sampled in a manner that permits generalization to all Chamorro students in Guam. However, with over 140 students, distributed across grades kindergarten to 12, who live in 20 different Guam villages, because of the open and well publicized admission policies, and because access to the program was further aided by the provision of public transportation to the summer school students, the Fanayakan summer school enrollment does offer a semi-representational sample. It is certainly one of interest. The sample may be biased motivationally in that the parents aspired to have their children learn Chamorro language and culture. This motivation may have reflected more home support for the language and culture. In addition, enrollment from the central and northern villages of Guam was favored. Nevertheless, the data base established by the Fanayakan testing program permits investigation of the following research questions:

1. What is the general English oral language proficiency of the participating Chamorro children in Guam?

2. Specifically, what are the relative strengths and weaknesses of the participating Chamorro children in Guam in the various speaking and listening linguistic skills of English?

3. What is the general Chamorro oral language proficiency of the participating Chamorro children in Guam?

4. Specifically, what are the relative strengths and weaknesses of the participating Chamorro children in Guam in the various speaking and listening linguistic skills of Chamorro?

5. Is there evidence of improved Chamorro proficiency across the two months of Fanayakan instruction? If so, was this progress specific to some linguistic skills and not to others?

6. Are there developmental trends across the age groups that lend support to the notions that:
   a. Chamorro proficiency is being lost? Or that
   b. Chamorro proficiency is being gained, possibly due to educational efforts?

7. Do the test results have implications for Chamorro and/or English language arts instruction?

The characteristics of the Fanayakan sample meant that the assumption about the Chamorro language proficiency of southern Guam children could not be explored. As a means of focusing on this assumption, while simultaneously examining test-retest reliability and the content validity of the Estoria subscale of the SFH, a small substudy was conducted in the southern village of Inarajan in the spring of 1985 with second and third grade students. This second study addressed the following research questions:

1. Does the SFH have test-retest reliability qualities?

2. Are children from southern Guam markedly more proficient in Chamorro speaking and listening than were the students who attended Fanayakan?

3. Does the test scale which counts most as an indicator of Chamorro speaking proficiency correspond to the children´s informal Chamorro conversational skills, as rated by a native Chamorro speaking examiner?

STUDY 1

METHOD

Participants

The participants in this study were the students of the 1982 Fanayakan summer school. They represent a selective sample that was created by a public outreach process in which the Fanayakan program was advertised at all 11 bilingual education project school sites. Only students at these 11 school sites were accepted into the 1982 Fanayakan program, although students in both bilingual education programs and non-program classrooms were eligible. The recruitment process focused primarily on Chamorro students. However, some non-Chamorro students were enrolled as well. A busing program was established in areas where a high frequency of enrollment was expected. Some other students were able to attend because they were driven from locations without bus service by their parents.

A demographic profile was compiled on each Fanayakan student through a survey of their parents. Parents reported student age, ethnicity, home languages, village residence, and various kinds of information on previous school attendance and medical concerns. Because the data analysis will treat results of the SFH (grades K-5) and the SLC (grades 6-12) separately, student demographic characteristics have been tabulated separately for the two groups of Fanayakan students.

Table 1

Age Group Frequency of Students
Tested with the Sensuran Fino' Haya

4 Years	5 Years	6 Years	7 Years	8 Years	9 Years	10 Years	11 Years
5	20	19	13	18	7	15	6
(5)[1]	*(19)*	*(18)*	*(11)*	*(17)*	*(7)*	*(14)*	*(5)*

Total Valid Cases = 103
Missing Cases = 4
Total Cases = 107

Mean = 7.26
S.D. = 2.01

[1] *Chamorro students only*

Table 2

Age Group Frequency of Students
Tested with the Sensuran Lengguahen Chamorro

11 Years	12 Years	13 Years	14 Years	15 Years	16 Years	19 Years	
7	9	8	5	3	2	1	
(7)[1]	*(8)*	*(6)*	*(4)*	*(3)*	*(0)*	*(1)*	*(1 unknown)*

Total Valid Cases = 35
Missing Cases = 0
Total Cases = 35

Mean = 13.00
S.D. = 1.78

[1] *Chamorro students only*

Table 3

Ethnic Group Frequency of Fanayakan Students

Ethnic Group	Sensuran Fino' Haya		Sensuran Lengguahen Chamorro		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Chamorro	72	72	25	74	97	72
Filipino	7	7	3	9	10	7
Chamorro/Hawaii	1	1	0	0	1	1
Chamorro/Anglo	8	8	4	12	12	9
Chamorro/Korean	0	0	1	3	1	1
Chamorro/Filipino	3	3	0	0	3	2
Chamorro/Mexican	2	2	0	0	2	1
Other	1	1	1	3	2	1
3 Way Combination	6	6	0	0	6	4
Total Valid Cases	100	100%	34	100%	134	100%
Missing Cases	7		1		8	
Total Cases	107		35		142	

Table 4

Home Language Frequency of Fanayakan Students

Home Language	Sensuran Fino' Haya		Sensuran Lengguahen Chamorro		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Chamorro	3	3	1	3	4	3
English	13	13	6	17	19	14
Chamorro & English	76	75	25	71	101	74
Tagalog	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tagalog & English	8	8	3	9	11	8
Tagalog & Chamorro	0	0	0	0	0	0
English, Tagalog & Chamorro	1	1	0	0	1	1
Total Valid Cases	101	100%	35	100%	136	100%
Missing Cases	6		0		6	
Total Cases	107		35		142	

Table 5

Village Residence Frequency of Fanayakan Students

Village Residence[1]	Sensuran Fino' Haya		Sensuran Lengguahen Chamorro		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Yigo	0	0	1	3	1 *(0)*[2]	1
Dededo	3	3	2	6	5 *(5)*	4
Tumon	1	1	0	0	1 *(1)*	1
Latte Heights	1	1	0	0	1 *(1)*	1
Barrigada Heights	0	0	2	6	2 *(2)*	1
Tamuning	2	2	2	6	4 *(4)*	3
Maite	2	2	1	3	3 *(3)*	2
Barrigada	20	19	4	11	24 *(23)*	17
Agana Heights	4	4	5	14	9 *(7)*	6
Sinajana	20	19	5	14	25 *(24)*	18
Ordot	4	4	1	3	5 *(3)*	4
Mangilao	17	16	4	11	21 *(19)*	15
Chalan Pago	2	2	2	6	4 *(2)*	3
Yona	11	10	2	6	13 *(12)*	9
Santa Rita	4	4	1	3	5 *(5)*	4
Agat	6	6	2	6	8 *(8)*	6
Baza Gardens	0	0	1	3	1 *(0)*	1
Talafofo	1	1	0	0	1 *(1)*	1
Malojloj	2	2	0	0	2 *(2)*	1
Inarajan	7	7	0	0	7 *(6)*	5

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[1] Ordered from north to south

[2] *Chamorro students only*

Tables 1 through 5 classify SFH and SLC students according to age, ethnicity, languages present at home, and village residence. Table 1 shows that students tested with SFH ranged from 4 to 11 years, with the majority of students falling in the 5-8 age groups. This version of the Chamorro oral language test was designed for students in grades K-5. As Table 1 shows, the SFH sample covered students for whom grades K-5 would be age-appropriate at a summer date. Table 2 shows the age distribution of students who were tested with SLC. They represent a smaller sample, ranging from 11-19 years, and are concentrated in the 11 to 13 year age groups.

Table 3 presents the ethnic group distribution of the sample. All but 8% of the sample are of Chamorro ancestry. The younger and older groups of students have very similar ethnic distributions, with a slightly greater proportion of Chamorro/Anglo students in the latter. Table 4 displays the languages that were reported to be present in the homes of the students. For 79% of the younger students who were tested with SFH, Chamorro was one of the home languages, with 75% having a Chamorro-English dual language home environment. For 74% of the older students who were tested with SLC, Chamorro was one of the home languages, with 71% having a Chamorro-English dual language environment at home.

In order to address the research questions posed earlier, the records of the 14 non-Chamorro students were removed from the Fanayakan data base before analysis. This removed one or two students from all but three of the age groups. Ten of these students were Filipino, three Caucasian, and one of unknown ethnicity. For nine, a Filipino language and English were spoken at home, English only for three, and an unknown home language for two. One or two of these students represented each of 10 different Guam villages. The altered data base permits an investigation of English and Chamorro language proficiency development exclusively with the Chamorro students in the program.

Procedure

The LAS I and II were administered according to the standardized procedures described in the Examiner's Manual. The commercially prepared tape recorded instructions and items were used to administer the LAS. The children's retelling of English stories for the production subscale was tape recorded. Each student was tested individually by a trained examiner. The SFH and the SLC were administered in a manner similar to that used with the LAS. A tape recorded version of the Chamorro test items was not available until 1983; thus, the Chamorro test items were administered personally to each student by their various examiners. The students' retellings of the Chamorro story, for the production or "estoria" section, were tape recorded and used later to perfect the verbatim transcript of the child's spoken language sample.

A file was established for each student by the Fanayakan staff which contained a student profile based on information from parents at the time of admission, and the original student record sheets for the LAS English, and the pre- and posttest Chamorro tests. The student test forms contained a record of all responses and the transcribed story retelling language samples. However, the tests were not scored until two years later. At that time, the English tests were scored by the first author, a native English speaking test specialist trained in the LAS scoring procedure. Native Chamorro speaking teacher aides tabulated the correct responses on the SFH and the SLC test records and then performed a preliminary rating on the language samples, using the same rating criteria used in the LAS. The test specialist then interviewed the two aides together about each Chamorro language sample, asking about fulfillment of the criteria necessary for the preliminary rating assigned to each language sample. When consensus was attained on each sample, a final rating was given.

Systems of converted scores were developed for each subscale of the SFH and the SLC as a means of giving appropriate weights to each subscale in the overall test score. These weighting systems resembled that of the LAS. The production subscale was given 50% weight as in the LAS, with the remaining 50% divided into roughly equal weights for the remaining subscales. Tables 6 and 7 display the scoring system for the LAS I and II. Tables 8, 9, and 10 display the scoring system for the SFH and SLC, respectively.

Data Reduction and Analysis

Student test and profile data were organized into a data management file using the Version Four - Apple DB Master Data Management System (Stoneware Incorporated, 1983). The DB Master Statpac programs were used to calculate descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, standard error of the mean, coefficient of variation, and frequency distributions), tests of significance (paired T-test), and correlations. Only the data of the 130 Chamorro students were analyzed because the research questions addressed language development of Chamorro students exclusively. Two-tailed probability levels, with $p =$ or $< .05$, were chosen because of the logical possibility of test scores either improving or declining on retest.

RESULTS

LAS. The LAS I and II were administered to 107 of the 130 (82%) Chamorro students attending the Fanayakan summer school. It is not known why some children were not tested for English proficiency. Reports from program personnel refer to late enrollment, occasional confusion in a child's testing schedule, and failure of the child to appear at the scheduled time. It does not appear that the missing data systematically represent children who either can or cannot speak English fluently.

Table 11 displays the English speaking and listening proficiency of the children. As can be seen from the LAS scoring system in Table 7, the mean LAS I

Table 6

LAS I and II Scoring Systems

Subscales	Linguistic Skills Tested	LAS I Number of Items	LAS II Number of Items	Percent of Total Score
Minimal Pairs	Phonology - Listening	30	24	12.5%
Lexical	Lexicon - Speaking	20	20	12.5%
Phonemes	Phonology - Speaking	36	36	12.5%
Sentence Comprehension	Lexicon, Syntax, Semantics - Listening	10	10	12.5%
Production	Lexicon, Syntax, Semantics - Speaking & Listening	5 (Rating Scale)	5 (Rating Scale)	50.0%

Table 7

LAS I and II Score Interpretation Systems

Proficiency Description	LAS I Score	LAS II Score	Level
Totally fluent English	85 - 100	92 - 100	5 (FES)[1]
Near-fluent English	75 - 84	82 - 91	4 (FES)
Limited English speaker	65 - 74	72 - 81	3 (LES)
Non-English speaker; apparent linguistic deficiency	55 - 64	62 - 71	2 (NES)
Non-English speaker; total linguistic deficiency	54 and below	52 - 61	1 (NES)

[1] *FES: Fluent English Speaking*
LES: Limited English Speaking
NES: Non-English Speaking

Table 8

SFH Scoring System

Subscales	Linguistic Skills Tested	Number of Items	Percent of Total Score
Destingto Na Sunido - Pares	Phonology - Listening	30	10%
Bukabulario	Lexicon - Listening	15	10%
Sinangan	Lexicon, Syntax, Semantics - Listening	10	10%
Destingto Na Sunida - Sinangan	Phonology - Speaking	35	10%
Bukabulario	Lexicon - Speaking	21	10%
Estoria	Lexicon, Syntax, Semantics - Speaking & Listening	5 (Rating Scale)	50%

Table 9

SLC Scoring System

Subscales	Linguistic Skills Tested	Number of Items	Percent of Total Score
Pares Sunido	Phonology - Listening	30	10%
Kinemprenden Sinangan	Lexicon, Syntax, Semantics - Listening	7	10%
Destingto Na Sunido	Phonology - Speaking	43	10%
Kinemprenden Sinangan 2	Lexicon, Syntax, Semantics - Listening; Phonology - Speaking	9	5%
Bukabulariu	Lexicon - Listening	24	10%
Na'Lalakse'	Syntax - speaking	9	5%
Umestoria	Lexicon, Syntax, Semantics - Speaking & Listening	5 (Rating Scale)	50%

99

Table 10

SFH and SLC Score Interpretation Systems

Proficiency Description	SFH and SLC Score	Level & Category
Totally fluent Chamorro	85 - 100	5 (FCS)[1]
Near fluent Chamorro	75 - 84	4 (FCS)
Limited Chamorro speaker	65 - 74	3 (LCS)
Non-Chamorro speaker; apparent linguistic deficiency	55 - 64	2 (NCS)
Non-Chamorro speaker; total linguistic deficiency	54 and below	1 (NCS)

[1] *FCS: Fluent Chamorro Speaking*
LCS: Limited Chamorro Speaking
NCS: Non-Chamorro Speaking

score and level obtained by the Fanayakan students fall into the Limited English Speaking (LES) category. Likewise, the LAS II score, although higher than that attained by the younger children, qualifies for Level 3, LES. In the Fanayakan sample, 40 of the 75 younger Chamorro students had LAS I scores in the NES and LES categories. The other 35 students had scores that would place them in the fluent English speaking (FES) category. Nineteen of the 31 older students tested with LAS II had scores in the NES and LES categories, and 12 had test scores classifying them as FES. Overall, 59 (56%) of the 106 students tested are limited or non-English speakers.

If one examines the relative difficulty of the various LAS I and II subscales, it is apparent that the Chamorro students had average subscale scores exceeding 50% or more of the possible credit for all subscales. The scores of both age groups exceeded 92% on the Lexicon subscale, demonstrating very high proficiency in spoken English vocabulary. The performance of the grade 6 and older students was similarly very high on the Phoneme and Sentence Comprehension subscales, demonstrating proficiency in English speaking phonology and in listening lexicon and syntax. The kindergarten to grade 5 students were less successful on these two subscales, succeeding on about 78% of the items of each. Student performance was only moderately high on the Minimum Pairs subscale on which students are asked to decide if two English words sound the same or different. On average, a monolingual English speaking Anglo American group of students would be expected to score 3 or 4 points higher than the average for the Fanayakan group (DeAvila and Duncan, 1981).

The most difficult portion of both the LAS I and II was the production subscale. In this task, students listen to a short story told in English, and then attempt to retell the story as well as possible. The retold stories of Chamorro students tested with the LAS I and II in this study received average ratings of 3.0 and 3.4. The frequency distributions of the LAS I and II production subscales (Table 12) suggest a developmental effect. Greater than seven times more younger children cluster in the lowest two levels, NES, than do

Table 11

English Oral Language Proficiency

Subscales	Number of Items	LAS I		LAS II	
		$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD
Minimum Pairs	30	24.40	5.60	21.20	4.30
Lexicon	20	18.45	2.09	19.97	.18
Phonemes	36	28.10	7.70	34.20	6.40
Sentence Comprehension	10	7.80	2.10	9.40	1.90
Production	5 (Rating Scale)	3.00	1.20	3.40	1.10
Total Score	100	71.00	17.20	80.20	18.00
Level	5	3.30[1]	1.40	3.40	1.10
Valid Cases		(N = 76)		(N = 31)	
Total Records		92		36	

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[1] Total records = 91
Valid Cases = 75

Table 12

LAS I and II Production (Story Retelling) Criteria, Levels, and Frequencies

Rated Level	Criteria for Rating	LAS I		LAS II	
		Freq.	Prop.	Freq.	Prop.
1	No response or only isolated words and expressions in English	7	9	0	0
2	A few isolated phrases and fragments or very simple sentences. Sentences are incoherent and may be difficult to associate with a storyline.	17	22	3	10
3	Complete sentences are produced, often with syntax errors. A storyline is present. Sentences are more coherent than Level 2, but still awkward.	26	34	15	48
4	Complete story. Coherent, fluent sentences. Occasional syntax and vocabulary errors. More limited vocabulary and syntactic complexity than Level 5.	19	25	7	22
5	Complete, coherent, and syntactically correct story. Student is overall an articulate, proficient English speaker.	7	9	6	19
		76	99	31	99

the older students. Thirty-four percent of the younger students and 48% of the older LAS examinees had stories rated Level 3, corresponding to LES. While 42% of the older students scored levels 4 or 5 on their speaking production test, corresponding to FES, only 34% of the younger children did so. As the scoring criteria in Table 12 show, the story rating is based on English fluency and is not penalized by nonstandard English usage. Because the number of older children in the sample is relatively small, these percentages can only be viewed as speculative indices. Moreover, the older and younger students were not chosen in a manner that would permit a developmental comparison of their English language proficiency. Nevertheless, the possibility of such a trend raises questions about the nature of developmental rates and patterns of English language acquisition and learning for Chamorro children in Guam.

SFH. Table 13 displays the pre- and posttest scores of kindergarten to grade 5 Chamorro Fanayakan students who were tested with the SFH test of Chamorro speaking and listening proficiency. The mean score and level performance indicate Level 1, Non-Chamorro Speaker (NCS), with total linguistic deficiencies on both testing occasions. The mean posttest score and level are higher than that achieved two months earlier on the pretest occasion. Paired T-tests showed the differences were statistically significant for scores or levels.

An examination of subscale scores reveals that two subscales were relatively easy for the students on both the pre- and posttest occasions: 1) Destingto na Sunido - Pares; and 2) Destingto na Sunido - Sinangan. Both of these subscales are tests of phonological familiarity which require the student to distinguish between sounds. In the first, the student listens to a pair of words that are either the same word spoken twice or two phonologically similar but distinct words (e.g., hita - hita; dengkot - denggat), and asked to say if the words are the same or different. In the second, the examiner pronounces a word or phrase and asks the child to repeat it, thus eliciting a spoken demonstration of

Table 13

SFH Pre and Posttest Comparisons

Subscale	Number of Items	PRETEST [1] Mean Raw Score (SD)	POSTTEST [2] Mean Raw Score (SD)
Destingto Na Sunido - Pares	30	25.10 (6.58)	27.11[4] (4.60)
Bukabulariu	15	10.37 (3.06)	11.60[3] (2.22)
Sinangan	10	5.79 (2.57)	7.22[3] (1.73)
Destingto Na Sunido - Sinangan	35	29.88 (5.62)	32.73[4] (6.36)
Bukabulario 2	21	7.21 (6.57)	11.02[3] (5.76)
Estoria	5	1.12 (0.41)	1.27 (0.56)
Total Score	100	37.01 (13.94)	46.32[3] (14.08)
Level	5	1.15 (0.53)	1.47[3] (0.90)

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[1] Pretest Total Records = 70
Pretest Valid Cases = 67

[2] Posttest Total Records = 70
Posttest Valid Cases = 55

[3] Statistically significant, paired T-test, two tail, $p < .01$.

[4] Statistically significant, paired T-test, two tail, $p < .05$.

phonological accuracy and familiarity (e.g., ga´lagitu; Ina i attilong na nganga´). On average, students responded correctly to about 85% of the items of these subscales during the pretest, and improved to 90% or greater at the posttest. These differences were statistically significant. Thus, it appears that distinguishing and reproducing Chamorro language sounds are skills which these Chamorro students of Guam have achieved at a near mastery level. It is interesting to note that the students´ performance on items demanding these linguistic skills was more proficient in Chamorro than it was in English.

The subscales on Chamorro listening word vocabulary (Bukabulariu) and sentence vocabulary/syntax listening comprehension (Sinangan) appeared to be of moderate difficulty to the Chamorro students tested. These tasks required students to listen to a spoken Chamorro word or phrase and then select one of several pictures that accurately represents objects, persons, scenes, or events referred to in the spoken word or phrase. On the pretest, students responded correctly to between half and two-thirds of these items, and improved their correct responses to approximately three quarters of the items on the posttest. These differences were statistically significant. The results indicate that the students´ ability to understand the specific spoken Chamorro words and sentences used in the test is moderately well developed, improves with time and/or instruction, but is not at a high level of development. The frequency and difficulty of the Chamorro words chosen for these subscales, within the larger scheme of fluent Chamorro speech, has not been empirically documented as is the case for the LAS English vocabulary items. Informal appraisal by several native Chamorro speakers suggests that the items represent a relatively easy and highly familiar part of the range. If this informal view is accurate, the demonstrated student performance indicates that students would need considerably more development in vocabulary and sentence listening comprehension to reach a mature degree of Chamorro listening proficiency.

The two most difficult subscales of the SFH on both pre- and posttest occasions are the speaking vocabulary (Bukabulariu 2) and the story retelling

Table 14

SFH Production (Story Retelling) Criteria, Levels, and Frequencies

Rated Level	Criteria for Rating	Pretest		Posttest	
		Freq.	Prop.	Freq.	Prop.
1	No response or only isolated words and expressions in Chamorro.	61	91	43	78
2	A few isolated phrases and fragments or very simple sentences. Sentences are incoherent and may be difficult to associate with a storyline.	4	6	9	16
3	Complete sentences are produced, often with syntax errors. A storyline is present. Sentences are more coherent than Level 2, but still awkward.	2	3	3	5
4	Complete story. Coherent, fluent sentences. Occasional syntax and vocabulary errors. More limited vocabulary and syntactic complexity than Level 5.	0	0	0	0
5	Complete, coherent, and syntactically correct story. Student is overall an articulate, proficient Chamorro speaker.	0	0	0	0
		67	100	55	99

tasks (Estoria). In the speaking vocabulary section, students are shown a series of pictures of objects or scenes and asked to name them in Chamorro. The story retelling subscale is administered in the same manner as in the LAS I and II. The student is told to listen carefully and be prepared to retell a story. A story with pictures is then told in Chamorro. The student is asked to retell it. If unable to spontaneously begin the retelling, the examiner asks prompt questions regarding the events, the plot, and the characters to elicit a Chamorro language sample. On the pretest, the students had a mean number of correct responses fewer than one third of the spoken vocabulary items, with improved mean performance of almost one half on the posttest, a difference which was statistically significant. This demonstrates that students are low in their knowledge and speaking control of common Chamorro vocabulary, although improvement occurs with time and/or instruction. Table 14 shows the frequency distribution of students' retelling performance across the five possible proficiency ratings. The vast majority of students were able to produce either no response, a few isolated Chamorro words, or only one or two fragmented sentences. None of the 67 kindergarten to grade 5 students pretested, or the 55 posttested, were able to produce a language sample that could be rated as near or totally fluent in Chamorro, Level 4 or 5, for a Fluent Chamorro Speaking (FCS) classification. Only 2 of the 67 pretested students and only 3 of the 55 posttested students attained a Level 3, to qualify as Limited Chamorro Speaking (LCS). Thus, 65 of the 67 pretested and 52 of the 55 posttested students tested as non-Chamorro speakers (NCS) on a task requiring speaking or "production" fluency.

SLC. The SLC was administered to 54 Chamorro students attending Fanayakan summer school for a pretest, and to 48 of these students for a posttest two months later. Table 15 displays the results. The mean scores and levels of the pre- and posttest indicate Chamorro speaking and listening proficiency in the upper ranges of Level 1 and exactly at Level 2, respectively. The ascending differences between the pre- and posttest SLC scores and levels were

Table 15

SLC Pre- and Posttest Comparisons

Subscale	Number of Items	PRETEST[1] Mean Raw Score (SD)	POSTTEST[2] Mean Raw Score (SD)
Pares Sunido	30	27.80 (2.32)	29.19[3] (1.40)
Kinemprenden Sinangan	7	5.55 (1.99)	6.02[3] (1.35)
Destingto Na Sunido	43	37.36 (10.85)	42.42[3] (1.03)
Kinemprenden Sinangan 2	9	4.68 (2.78)	5.83[3] (1.96)
Bukabulariu	24	10.00 (5.79)	13.60[3] (5.63)
Na'Lalakse'	9	3.02 (3.28)	1.75[4] (2.67)
Umestoria	5	1.54 (0.95)	1.92 (1.41)
Total Score	100	48.83 (16.13)	56.46[3] (18.10)
Level	5	1.55 (0.95	1.96[4] (1.43)

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[1] Pretest Total Records = 58
Pretest Valid Cases = 56

[2] Posttest Total Records = 58
Posttest Valid Cases = 53

[3] Statistically significant, paired T-test, two tail, $p < .01$.
[4] Statistically significant, paired T-test, two tail, $p < .05$.

statistically significant. Both Level 1 and 2 are interpreted as NCS, with Level 1 indicating total linguistic deficiency and Level 2 indicating apparent but somewhat milder linguistic deficiency in Chamorro.

A close look at the students´ subscale performance shows that two subscales were easy on both the SLC pre- and posttests: 1) Pares Sunido; and 2) Destingto na Sunido. In the first, the student listens to a pair of words that are either the same word spoken twice, or two phonetically similar words (e.g., chagi - chagi; suni - seni), and asked to say if the words are the same or different. In the second, the examiner pronounces a word or phrase and asks the child to repeat it, thus eliciting a spoken demonstration of phonological accuracy and familiarity (e.g., nginge´; manggigimen tuba i lalahi). On average, students responded correctly to over 90% of the items on the Pares Sunido scale on both pre- and posttest. On average, they responded correctly to more than 85% of the Destingto na Sunido items on pretest, and to 99% of these items on posttest. The trend toward improvement of scores from pre- to posttest occasions was statistically significant for both of these subscales. Thus, it appears that distinguishing and reproducing Chamorro language sounds are skills on which these Chamorro students of Guam have achieved near mastery.

Students were also highly successful with the first Kinemprenden Sinangan subscale on both pre- and posttest occasions. This subscale requires students to listen to a series of short phrases, identifying one of three illustrations which accurately represents the meaning of the phrase immediately after the phrase is spoken (e.g., guma´ - na). On average, students were successful with 80% or more of the items of this scale at both pre- and posttest, indicating skill in understanding the meaning of these brief and fairly familiar Chamorro expressions. Their posttest performance just slightly lacked statistical significance ($p=.08$).

The second Kinemprenden Sinangan subscale and the Bukabulariu subscale were of moderate difficulty to students on pre- and posttest occasions. In the first of these, the examiner articulates three similar sentences, each of which has a distinct meaning. The student is then expected to select the sentence which most closely matches the picture for that item. Thus, this subscale combines short-term memory, Chamorro listening vocabulary and syntax skills, and Chamorro phonological reproduction skills. On average, students succeeded on slightly over half of these items on pretest, and on almost two thirds of them on posttest, a difference that was statistically significant. The Bukabulariu subscale tests Chamorro spoken vocabulary by requiring the student to name the objects, actions, or events in each of the 24 illustrations. On average, on the pretest, the students responded correctly on 42% of the vocabulary items, and improved the group's average correct responses to 57% of the items at posttest, a significant difference. These results indicate that the ability of these grade 6-12 students to understand and spontaneously use relatively frequent and familiar single Chamorro vocabulary words, or short word combinations is moderately well developed, and would profit from additional development. The listening aspect of these skills appears to be superior to the speaking aspect.

The most difficult subscales of the SLC, on both pre- and posttest occasions, were: 1) Na'Lalakse subscale; and 2) Umestoria subscale. In the Na'Lalakse items, a Chamorro sentence is spoken and the student is required to respond with an original, restructured, shortened version of the sentence (e.g., Sesso si Juan poddong. -- Hapoddong si Juan. -- or, Pekdong si Juan.). Umestoria is the story retelling subscale and it is administered in the same manner as in the LAS I and II, and the SFH. Na'Lalakse proved to be especially difficult, requiring as it does not only a passive understanding of Chamorro lexicon and syntax, but also active grammatical and lexical manipulation skills. On average, on the pre-test, students responded correctly to 34% of the Na'Lalakse items, and declined at the posttest to 20%, or an average of less than 2 correct items. The pre- to posttest performance decline was statistically significant at the .05 level.

Table 16

SLC Production (Story Retelling) Criteria, Levels, and Frequencies

Rated Level	Criteria for Rating	Pretest Freq.	Pretest Prop.	Posttest Freq.	Posttest Prop.
1	No response or only isolated words and expressions in Chamorro.	39	70	34	64
2	A few isolated phrases and fragments or very simple sentences. Sentences are incoherent and may be difficult to associate with a storyline.	8	14	4	8
3	Complete sentences are produced, often with syntax errors. A storyline is present. Sentences are more coherent than Level 2, but still awkward.	6	11	5	9
4	Complete story. Coherent, fluent sentences. Occasional syntax and vocabulary errors. More limited vocabulary and syntactic complexity than Level 5.	2	2	5	9
5	Complete, coherent, and syntactically correct story. Student is overall an articulate, proficient Chamorro speaker.	1	2	5	9
		56	99	53	99

On the Umestoria subscale, the majority of students were able to offer no response, a few isolated Chamorro words, or only one or two fragmented sentences, as indicated by the 87% attaining a story rating of 1 or 2 at pre-test and the 79% attaining these low ratings at posttest (Table 16). As with the SFH story retelling subscale, such low ratings are classified as NCS and are indicative of non-Chamorro speaking proficiency with total or somewhat milder linguistic deficiency. Approximately equal numbers and percentages had stories rated Level 3 on pre- and posttest, a level indicative of LCS, and characterized by stories with sentences which are complete but which often have syntactic errors, and with awkward but relatively coherent storylines. Level 3 posttest scores on Umestoria includes several students who improved from pretest Levels 1 and 2. A major upward shift between pre- and posttest occasions is seen in Levels 4 and 5. At pretest, only 6% of the Chamorro Fanayakan students tested with SLC achieved these FCS levels, while at posttest 21% did so. The effect was slightly less than necessary for statistical significance at the .05 level (p=.07).

LAS/SFH/SLC Relations. Table 17 displays the relative performance of the Fanayakan Chamorro students on the English and Chamorro oral language proficiency tests, for those selected subscales that address similar linguistic skills. The first series of subscales, all of which address listening phonetic distinction skills, were easy for the students in both English and Chamorro, on pre- and posttest occasions, and for both the younger and older groups. For the younger children it appears that Chamorro may be slightly easier. A pre- to posttest improvement pattern occurred on both Chamorro tests.

For spoken vocabulary, a subscale was available on all tests except the SLC. While this task was performed almost without error in English on the LAS I and II, it was quite difficult in Chamorro. Pre- to posttest improvement occurred in Chamorro. The third series of subscales tests spoken pronunciation in English and Chamorro, respectively. These tasks were all relatively easy for the Chamorro students; however, the younger students seemed to have greater

Table 17

Relative Performance of Chamorro Students on LAS, SFH, and SLC Tasks for Linguistic Skills

Las I and II Subscale	LAS I	LAS II	SFH Subscale		SLC Subscale	
Minimal Pairs:			Destingto Na Sunido:		Pares Sunido:	
Phonology - Listening			Phonology - Listening		Phonology - Listening	
			Pretest		Pretest	
Mean Raw Score	24.40	21.20	Mean Raw Score	25.10	Mean Raw Score	27.80
Mean Scale Correct	81%	88%	Mean Scale Correct	84%	Mean Scale Correct	93%
(Items: 30, 24)			Posttest		Posttest	
			Mean Raw Score	27.11	Mean Raw Score	29.19
			Mean Scale Correct	90%	Mean Scale Correct	97%
			(Items: 30)		(Items: 30)	
Lexical:			Bukabulariu 2:			
Lexicon - Speaking			Lexicon - Speaking			
			Pretest			
Mean Raw Score	18.45	19.97	Mean Raw Score	7.21		
Mean Scale Correct	92%	100%	Mean Scale Correct	34%		
(Items: 20, 20)			Posttest			
			Mean Raw Score	11.02		
			Mean Scale Correct	52%		
			(Items: 21)			
Phonemes:			Destingto Na Sunido - Sinangan:		Destingto Na Sunido:	
Phonology - Speaking			Phonology - Speaking		Phonology - Speaking	
			Pretest		Pretest	
Mean Raw Score	28.10	34.20	Mean Raw Score	29.88	Mean Raw Score	37.36
Mean Scale Correct	78%	95%	Mean Scale Correct	85%	Mean Scale Correct	87%
(Items: 36)			Posttest		Posttest	
			Mean Raw Score	32.73	Mean Raw Score	42.42
			Mean Scale Correct	94%	Mean Scale Correct	100%
			(Items: 35)		(Items: 43)	
Sentence Comprehension:			Sinangan:		Kinemprenden Sinangan:	
Lexicon, Syntax, Semantics - Listening			Lexicon, Syntax, Semantics - Listening		Lexicon, Syntax, Semantics - Listening	
			Pretest		Pretest	
Mean Raw Score	7.8	9.4	Mean Raw Score	5.79	Mean Raw Score	5.55
Mean Scale Correct	78%	94%	Mean Scale Correct	58%	Mean Scale Correct	79%
(Items: 10)			Posttest		Posttest	
			Mean Raw Score	7.22	Mean Raw Score	6.02
			Mean Scale Correct	72%	Mean Scale Correct	86%
			(Items: 10)		(Items: 7)	
Production:			Estoria:		Umestoria:	
Lexicon, Syntax, Semantics - Speaking & Listening			Lexicon, Syntax, Semantics - Speaking & Listening		Lexicon, Syntax, Semantics - Speaking & Listening	
			Pretest		Pretest	
Mean Raw Score	3.0	3.4	Mean Raw Score	1.12	Mean Raw Score	1.54
Mean Scale Correct	60%	68%	Mean Scale Correct	22%	Mean Scale Correct	31%
(Items: 5 point scale)			Posttest		Posttest	
			Mean Raw Score	1.27	Mean Raw Score	1.92
			Mean Scale Correct	25%	Mean Scale Correct	38%
			(Items: 5 point scale)		(Items: 5 point scale)	

difficulty with English pronunciation. Pre- to posttest improvement occurred for both Chamorro tests.

A fourth series of subscales tested sentence comprehension, or the child's ability to identify objects and scenes in pictures that are accompanied by the examiner's spoken description. Students were moderate to very adept at these tasks. The Chamorro pretest tasks were considerably more difficult for the younger students than were these tasks in English or in the other administrations of the Chamorro tests. A trend toward posttest improvement was apparent for this task on both Chamorro tests. On the story retelling tasks of the four tests, the English versions were clearly much easier for the Chamorro students than were those on the Chamorro tests, on which performance was very low. However, students' skills in providing a spontaneous, self-initiated and designed retelling are poorly developed in both languages and at both age groups. Some slight improvement appears from pre- to posttest occasions on the Chamorro tests.

STUDY 2

The selection of participants for this small substudy reflects the research question regarding the Chamorro oral proficiency of Chamorro students in southern Guam. The Fanayakan sample was constituted primarily of Chamorro students from northern and central Guam, and the Chamorro oral language proficiency of this sample was quite low. Because of the lack of information on the southern Guam children, and because of the conventional wisdom that Chamorro children in southern Guam are likely to be more proficient than those in other parts of the Island, there was an interest in obtaining performance samples from southern children.

Two psychometric questions were also posed for this substudy: the first regarding validity and the second regarding reliability. The story retelling tasks of the Chamorro tests were very difficult for the Fanayakan students. The majority were unable to give more than a few isolated Chamorro words or a fragmented sentence. It was noticed, however, that posttest performance was better and that older students performed more adequately than did younger students. Were these higher performances due to a practice effect? To a contrast effect in which students are extremely reticent on pretest and improve on posttest, or when they are older, because of familiarity with the examiner or relief from shyness? Or, are there culture-specific sociolinguistic factors - rules of silence attached to the verbal interactions of certain speakers, such as children to adults, which interfere with the kind of freely expressed speech likely to garner the higher story retelling ratings? As a first step toward developing an empirical understanding of these questions, a controlled and focused testing experience by examiners vigilant for clues to these issues was thought to be necessary.

In addition, as a basic instrument development procedure, test-retest reliability data was needed to determine the consistency and stability of the SFH. Because oral language proficiency tests such as the SFH, SLC, and the LAS are used to designate language categories that lead to group, classroom, or program placement, and because children are frequently tested on two or more occasions with them, it is important to understand how scores, levels, and proficiency categories are altered by repeated administrations.

The research questions for Study 2 are listed on page 5.

METHOD

Participants

Twenty Chamorro students from Inarajan Elementary School participated in the study, 10 from grade 2 and 10 from grade 3. Of the second graders, 5 were female and 5 were male. Of the third graders, 6 were female and 4 were male. Second graders ranged in age at the time of the study (April and May, 1985) from 7 years 7 months to 9 years 4 months. The average age was 8 years 11 months. Two students were over age for the second grade. Third graders ranged in age from 8 years 5 months to 10 years 1 month. The average age was 9 years. Two students were over age for the third grade. The students were chosen randomly from the student lists of one second and one third grade classroom, with the restriction that all must be of Chamorro ancestry and, as nearly as possible, half of the students from each grade should be boys and half should be girls.

Procedure

The SFH was administered according to the standardized procedures developed during the Fanayakan program and adapted from the LAS. One procedural deviation from Study 1 was that tape recorded directions and item administration were presented via a tape prepared by the second author, a native Chamorro speaker and a principal author of the SFH. The examiner, the third author, is a native Chamorro speaker. Following the conclusion of the story retelling task (Estoria), with the tape recorder still in motion, the examiner attempted to engage the student in an informal conversation in Chamorro about a familiar topic, the student´s family. This task was selected as a cross-check on the validity and appropriateness of the story retelling task. Unless the Estoria task creates some type of communicative inhibition, one would expect that students who provide Chamorro language samples during the informal conversation

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would also be able to provide adequate story retelling Chamorro language samples; and vice versa. This procedure was repeated on the retest occasion.

For second graders the first testing occasion began on April 16, 1985, and the retest process was concluded on May 8th, 1985. The intervals between test and retest ranged from 12 to 14 days, with a mean of 13.4 intervening days. For third graders, the first testing occasion began on April 11, 1985 and the retest process was concluded on May 1, 1985. The intervals between test and retest ranged from 16 to 18 days, with a mean of 17.2 intervening days. These short intervals between test and retest occasions were used as a means of dimenishing educational intervention as a factor in score changes that might occur across the two occasions. In this way, score fluctuations across occasions could be attributed to 1) practice effects; 2) task and setting familiarity effects; and/or 3) test instability. Approximately 30 to 45 minutes per student were needed for administration of all SFH subscales and the informal conversation.

Data Reduction and Analysis

The data reduction and analysis procedures used in Study 1 were also applied to Study 2. In addition, the Kendall Tau statistical procedure was calculated manually.

RESULTS

This section will sequentially present the results as they pertain to: 1) general test performance and the test-retest reliability issues; 2) the performance of students from Inarajan relative to the Fanayakan students; and 3) Chamorro production skills on the Estoria subscale relative to the natural Chamorro conversation.

General Performance and Test-Retest Reliability

Table 18 displays the test and retest scores on the SFH for the Chamorro second and third grade students tested at Inarajan Elementary School. These results tend to support a claim for the test-retest stability of the test as a whole. Test-retest stability appears to be better for the second grade than for the third grade. The mean score and level performance for second grade students indicate Level 1, NCS with total linguistic deficiency, on both test and retest occasions. Although the retest mean score and level showed a slight increase relative to the test occasion, this difference was not statistically significant. The mean score and level performance for third grade students indicate Level 2, NCS with apparent linguistic deficiency on the test occasion; and Level 3, LCS, on the retest occasion. A definite trend toward improvement occurred at retest, with 9 of the 10 third grade students increasing their final results by 1 level (Table 20 and Figure 2). This result was statistically significant.

Table 19 and Figure 1 show the relative test-retest story retelling frequencies. This indicates little cross over from test to retest occasions for grade 2 students. A greater shift is seen for third graders. Thus, it appears that the Level improvement for third graders is derived from a combination of gains in phonological distinctions and repetitions (Destingto Na Sunido - Pares and Detingto Na Sunido - Sinangan subscales), the sentence listening-picture identification task (Sinangan subscale), and the story retelling task (Estoria). The lack of statistically significant differences in the Estoria test-retest comparision for both second and third graders was especially interesting since it is the most subjectively administered and scored of the subscales, and thought to be the most vulnerable to effects of circumstantial variations (e.g., examiner-tester rapport; test familiarity).

An examination of the subscale scores in Table 18 shows that the relative difficulty of different subscales had the same pattern as was found with the kindergarten to grade 3 Fanayakan SFH results, with one exception. For the

Table 18

SFH Test-Retest Performance

Subscale	Number of Items	Grade 2[1]		Grade 3[1]	
		Test	Retest	Test	Retest
Destingto Na Sunido - Pares	30	26.60	27.70	26.50	27.80[3]
		(1.58)[4]	(1.16)	(2.46)	(2.25)
		[0.50][5]	[0.37]	[0.78]	[0.71]
Bukabulariu	15	12.10	11.50[2]	12.20	13.80
		(2.88)	(2.88)	(3.33)	(0.92)
		[0.91]	[0.91]	[1.05]	[0.29]
Sinangan	10	6.60	5.90[3]	7.90	7.50[2]
		(2.41)	(2.33)	(0.99)	(1.18)
		[0.76]	[0.74]	[0.31]	[0.37]
Destingto Na Sunido - Sinangan	35	30.60	31.80	30.40	33.30[3]
		(3.41)	(3.19)	(3.34)	(1.34)
		[1.08]	[1.01]	[1.06]	[0.42]
Bukabulariu - 2	21	10.90	11.60	17.00	17.40
		(5.02)	(5.66)	(1.49)	(1.35)
		[1.59]	[1.79]	[0.47]	[0.43]
Estoria	5	1.40	1.50	2.50	2.90
		(0.52)	(0.53)	(0.71)	(0.57)
		[0.16]	[0.17]	[0.22]	[0.18]
Total Score	100	51.66	52.55	67.57	72.93[2]
		(10.38)	(11.50)	(7.18)	(5.62)
		[3.28]	[3.64]	[2.27]	[1.78]
Level	5	1.50	1.60	2.70	3.50[2]
		(0.53)	(0.70)	(0.67)	(0.71)
		[0.17]	[0.22]	[0.21]	[0.22]

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[1] N = 10

[2] Statistically significant, paired T-test, two tail, p .01.

[3] Statistically significant, paired T-test, two tail, p .05.

[4] () = Standard Deviation

[5] [] = Standard Error of Measurement

Table 19

SFH Test and Retest Frequencies for Grades 2 and 3 Chamorro Inarajan Students on the Estoria (Story Retelling) Subscale

Rated Level	Grade 2 Test	Grade 2 Retest	Grade 3 Test	Grade 3 Retest
	N = 10		N = 10	
1	6	5	1	0
2	4	5	3	2
3	0	0	6	7
4	0	0	0	1
5	0	0	0	0

Table 20

SFH Test and Retest Frequencies for Grades 2 and 3 Chamorro Inarajan Students on Total Test Level

	Grade 2 Test	Grade 2 Retest	Grade 3 Test	Grade 3 Retest
	N = 10		N = 10	
1	5	5	0	0
2	5	4	4	0
3	0	1	5	6
4	0	0	1	3
5	0	0	0	1

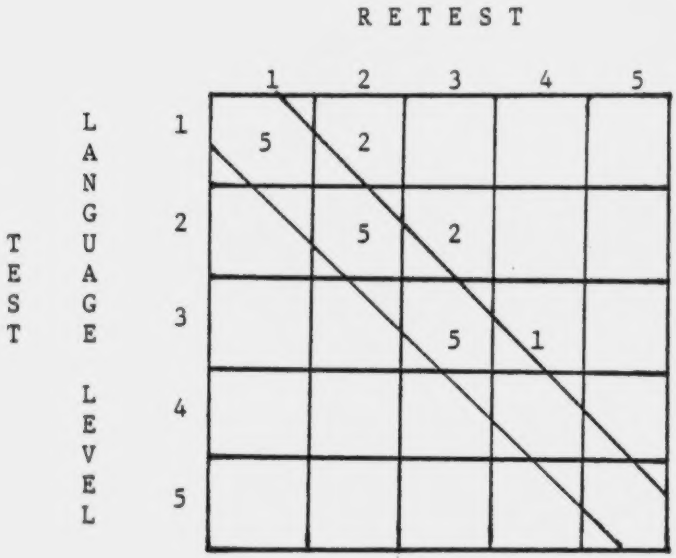
students tested with the SFH during the Fanayakan program, and for the second grade Inarajan students in this study, the two easiest subscales were the Destingto Na Sunido - Pares and the Destingto Na Sunido - Sinangan, the two phonological subscales. The subscales of moderate difficulty for second graders were Bukabulariu, listening vocabulary, and Sinangan, sentence listening comprehension with picture identification. The most difficult subscales for second graders were Bukabulariu 2, speaking vocabulary, and Estoria, the story retelling production task. Third graders fit this same pattern except that they found Bukabulariu 2, spoken vocabulary, slightly easier than Sinangan, the sentence listening comprehension and picture identification task.

Figures 1, 2, and 3 show the pattern of test-retest shift graphically for the Estoria subscale (50% of the total score), the overall test level, and the ultimate language proficiency classification criteria. All Estoria and Level shifts were positive. No student declined in performance, and none of the shifts exceeded 1 level advancement. Five of the 20 students improved their Estoria rating levels, while 9 improved their overall language Levels. This indicates that the Level shifts were due to retest improvements made on other subscales, as well as being affected by improved Estoria ratings. The Kendall Tau rank correlation coefficient was used to examine the degree of association or correlation between the two sets of Level ranks. A very high degree of association between test and retest Level assignments on the SFH was obtained (T = .98).

Figure 3 shows the test to retest shifts on language proficiency categories. These shifts are especially important because they represent policy guidelines for student diagnosis, eligibility determinants, and program placement criteria. They are conversions of the score and level results. Five of the upward shifts are from NCS to LCS. Three students shifted from LCS to FCS, a shift with very important instructional and policy implications. Table 21 gives more detailed score information on the individual students who shifted levels from test to retest. Four of the 9 had very small differences in their test to retest scores.

Figure 1

Test to Retest Correspondence of SFH Estoria Rating

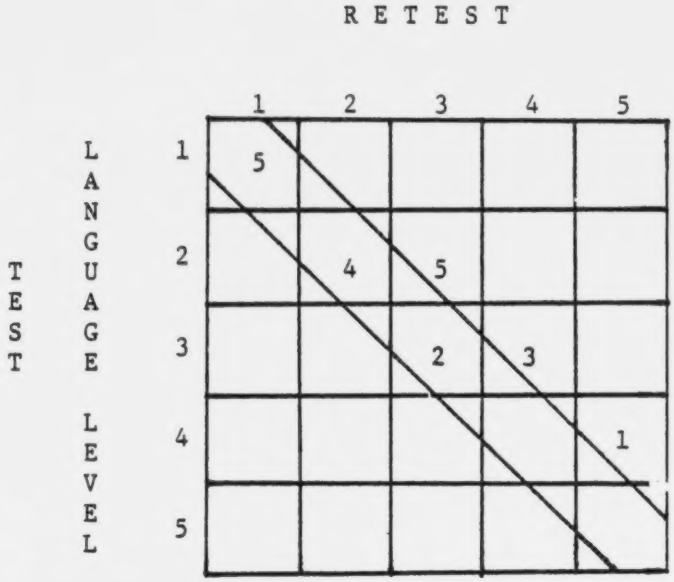


RETEST

TEST LANGUAGE LEVEL	1	2	3	4	5
1	5	2			
2		5	2		
3			5	1	
4					
5					

Figure 2

Test to Retest Correspondence of SFH Level

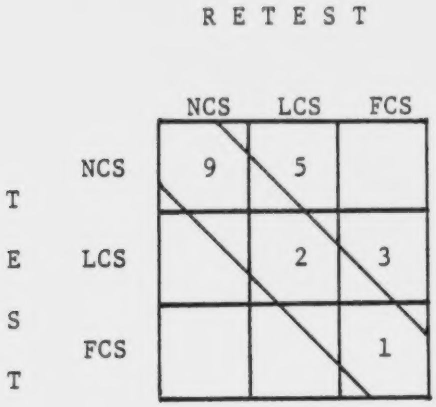


RETEST

TEST LANGUAGE LEVEL	1	2	3	4	5
1	5				
2		4	5		
3			2	3	
4					1
5					

Figure 3

Test to Retest Correspondence of SFH Chamorro Language Proficiency Categories



		RETEST		
		NCS	LCS	FCS
TEST	NCS	9	5	
	LCS		2	3
	FCS			1

Six of these 9 students were from 1 to 5.6 points from a cutoff level on the first testing occasion. Two students had test-retest differences of nearly 10 points; i.e., not quite an entire level jump. Neither shifted across the critical LCS to FCS category. Thus, of 20 students, 2 changed so much that one would be inclined to retest them, or to be concerned about the reliability of the original test result.

Inarajan and Fanayakan Test Performances

In order to assess the relative proficiency of the southern Guam students and the primarily central and northern Guam students tested in the Fanayakan study, the test results of second and third grade Inarajan students on the test occasion were compared to the pretest results of the grade two and three Fanayakan students who were tested with the SFH. The pretest and test occasions were chosen for this analysis instead of the posttest and retest occasions because they both represent the students' first testing occasion and are free of practice, familiarity, or varying language instruction effects. Table 22 shows the SFH results for the Fanayakan and Inarajan second and third graders who participated in the studies. The subscale difference between the two groups on the Destingto Na Sunido - Pares, the phonological task requiring the distinction of pairs of same or similar words, reached statistical significance. The Fanayakan group had a higher mean score on this task. This task is generally considered a very easy one. However, an artifact of the testing procedure may have made it more difficult for the Inarajan students. In Inarajan, students were required to use the Chamorro words to indicate "same" or "different" in response to these items, as specified by the examiner's manual. Since most did not already know these words, the response mechanism increased the task difficulty. Later it was learned that many of the Fanayakan examiners used the English words for this task because of the students' unfamiliarity with "parehu" and "ti parehu." Although not significantly different, the scores and levels attained by the Inarajan students on the Destingto Na Sunido - Sinangan subscales

Table 21

Analysis of SFH Test-Retest Score and Level Shifts for Individual Students

Levels Shifted	Cut-off Score Needed for Shift	Test/Retest Scores	Score Difference
2 → 3	65	58.2/66.2	8.0
		55.4/66.2	10.8
		61.8/65.4	3.6
		59.4/68.9	9.5
		61.8/72.0	10.2
3 → 4	75	72.4/74.9	2.5
		73.5/76.7	3.2
		74.0/75.3	1.3
4 → 5	85	75.1/84.8	9.7

Table 22

SFH Comparison for Fanayakan Pretest and Inarajan Test Occasions Grade 2 and 3 Students

Subscale	Grade 2		Grade 3		Total	
	Fanayakan N = 16	Inarajan N = 10	Fanayakan N= 4	Inarajan N = 10	Fanayakan N = 20	Inarajan N = 20
Destingto Na Sunido - Pares	28.13	26.60	29.25	26.50	28.35	26.55 [4]
	(3.22)[1]	(1.58)	(0.96)	(2.46)	(2.92)	(2.01)
	[0.81][3]	[0.50]	[0.48]	[0.78]	[0.65]	[0.45]
Bukabulariu	11.50	12.10	13.25	12.20	11.85	12.15
	(2.16)	(2.88)	(1.71)	(3.33)	(2.16)	(3.03)
	[0.54]	[0.91]	[0.85]	[1.05]	[0.48]	[0.68]
Sinangan	6.56	6.60	7.75	7.90	6.80	7.25
	(2.48)	(2.41)	(0.96)	(0.99)	(2.28)	(1.92)
	[0.62]	[0.76]	[0.48]	[0.31]	[0.51]	[0.43]
Destingto Na Sunido - Sinangan	32.06	30.60	32.50	30.40	32.15	30.50 [5]
	(2.26)	(3.41)	(3.32)	(3.34)	(2.41)	(3.28)
	[0.57]	[1.08]	[1.66]	[1.06]	[0.54]	[0.73]
Bukabulariu 2	10.63	10.90	16.00	17.00	11.70	13.95
	(5.66)	(5.02)	(1.41)	(1.49)	(5.52)	(4.77)
	[1.41]	[1.59]	[0.71]	[0.47]	[1.23]	[1.07]
Estoria	1.13	1.40	2.00	2.50	1.30	1.95 [3]
	(0.50)	(0.52)	(0.82)	(0.71)	(0.66)	(0.83)
	[0.12]	[0.16]	[0.41]	[0.22]	[0.15]	[0.18]
Total Score	41.80	51.66	63.43	67.57	46.13	59.61 [3]
	(10.76)	(10.38)	(8.83)	(7.18)	(13.51)	(11.92)
	[2.69]	[3.28]	[4.42]	[2.27]	[3.02]	[2.66]
Level	1.13	1.50	2.25	2.70	1.35	2.10 [3]
	(0.50)	(0.53)	(1.26)	(0.67)	(0.81)	(0.85)
	[0.12]	[0.17]	[0.63]	[0.21]	[0.18]	[0.19]

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[1] () = Standard Deviation
[2] [] = Standard Error of Measurement
[3] Statistically significant, unpaired T-test, two tail, $p < .01$
[4] Statistically significant, unpaired T-test, two tail, $p < .05$
[5] Two tail probability, $p = .07$

(spoken reproduction of Chamorro sounds) were lower than those of the Fanayakan grade 2, grade 3 and total sample. Results obtained on the Estoria subscale, the Total Score, and Level were all higher for the Inarajan students, compared to the Fanayakan students. These differences were statistically significant.

Tables 23 and 24 give Level frequency comparisons of Fanayakan and Inarajan participating students for each grade and with the grades combined for the Estoria ratings and the final language Level of the test. The most noticable feature in these tables is that the Fanayakan results show a large cluster at Level 1, the lowest level, whereas the Inarajan students´ story retelling and overall language proficiencies distributed across four of the five levels. This indicates that more of the Inarajan students demonstrated more proficient control of the Chamorro language than did the Fanayakan students.

Estoria and Natural Conversation

The ability of each student to engage in a natural informal conversation about their family and personal interests in Chamorro was rated by the examiner as either positive or negative. These ratings were then compared to the students´ performances on the story retelling (Estoria) subscale. All students with a Level 3, 4, or 5 on their SFH had been able to converse with the Chamorro speaking examiner. None of the Level 1 or 2 students received a positive rating on the natural Chamorro conversation.

DISCUSSION

In these studies of the language proficiencies of Chamorro children in Guam, it was found that the majority of students in the study (56%) were limited (LES) or non-English speaking (NES). Their English performance was highest on measures of spoken vocabulary, listening and picture matching, and sound discrimination or

Table 23

SFH Comparison for Fanayakan Pretest Estoria Frequencies and Inarajan Test Estoria Frequencies Grades 2 and 3 and Both Grades Combined

Rated Level	Grade 2		Grade 3		Total	
	F	I	F	I	F	I
1	15	6	1	1	16	7
2	0	4	2	3	2	7
3	1	0	1	6	2	6
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0
	N = 16	N = 10	N = 4	N = 10	N = 20	N = 20

Table 24

SFH Comparison for Fanayakan Pretest Level Frequencies and Inarajan Test Level Frequencies Grades 2 and 3 and Both Grades Combined

Rated Level	Grade 2		Grade 3		Total	
	F	I	F	I	F	I
1	15	5	1	0	16	5
2	0	5	2	4	2	9
3	1	0	0	5	1	5
4	0	0	1	1	1	1
5	0	0	0	0	0	0
	N = 16	N = 10	N = 4	N = 10	N = 20	N = 20

duplication. They experienced greatest difficulty with tasks which required an integration of listening and of speaking original sentences. The older students (grades 6 to 12) were much more often found in the LES category, whereas the younger students (K to 5) were more often categorized as NES. This finding prompts a developmental hypothesis which should be examined via a within-subjects research design. If we interpret this as preliminary evidence for a developmental effect, it would appear that for many Chamorro students in Guam, most of the elementary years are years in which they cope with their predominantly English schooling experience without the benefit of proficient oral English language skills. At NES and LES levels of proficiency, the all-English instruction received by these students for the majority of the school day will not be "understandable," as required by federal law. At the secondary level, their schooling experience becomes increasingly comprehensible and they become more able to express themselves in the language of their schools. However, the educational loss which has occurred during six or more years when they could not express themselves and when instruction was not comprehensible will have been great.

In the Chamorro language, the students were found to be totally deficient, non-Chamorro speaking (NCS). They were most skilled in dealing with the Chamorro language sound system. In fact, younger students were more accurate on Chamorro phonological tasks than on similar tasks in English. However, tasks requiring students to produce Chamorro vocabulary words, or to express ideas in original Chamorro sentences were exceedingly difficult, and the latter of these tasks was usually impossible for these students. For both younger and older students, the two month Fanayakan summer school experience brought statistically significant improvement on all Chamorro subscales except for the Chamorro story retelling task (Chamorro production), and a listening task for older students on which students had high pretest performance. The study provided no evidence that Chamorro students are progressively losing Chamorro proficiency with advancing age. A longitudinal within-subjects research design is needed to investigate this question definitively. In this study, all students demonstrated very low

Chamorro proficiency. However, the older students performed somewhat better than the younger. This has two possible interpretations: 1) that the gradual societal decline in the indigenous Chamorro language results in older students having more residual Chamorro skills than younger because the two age groups are at different points on the continuum of evolving loss; or 2) that increased exposure to Chamorro in the community, and in the 20 minutes of mandated Chamorro instruction per day, increases the students' levels of Chamorro proficiency as they grow older. Both explanations are plausible. However, the pre- to posttest summer school comparisons are encouraging for the developmental effect. These Chamorro students were very responsive to direct Chamorro teaching, even across a short two month period. Still, the types of skills which were demonstrated and which improved were largely passive. The ability to compose and produce original speech, or to interact verbally in Chamorro, was not present on either pre- or posttest occasions for either the younger or older students. These skills were largely undeveloped in English as well.

The results of the second smaller study in southern Guam revealed that the relative difficulty of the Chamorro language tasks for grade 2 and 3 students, followed the same pattern as was found in the Fanayakan study. However, the performance of the southern Chamorro students was significantly better on the crucial Story Retelling task, as well as on the Total Score and language Level. The southern Inarajan students demonstrated more proficient control of the Chamorro language than did the students from central and northern villages who were tested during the Fanayakan summer school program.

Thus, this data, which admittedly is speculative because of the size and nature of the samples, suggests that there may be a greater likelihood of finding Chamorro students with limited (Level 3), near fluent (Level 4), and fluent (Level 5) Chamorro oral proficiency skills in the southern student populations than in those of central or northern Guam. Random sample testing, or all-student assessment, of Guam's total Chamorro student population would be required to properly ascertain the validity of this assertion. However, this possibility may have methodological utility when site selection for the study of Chamorro speaking children in Guam is of interest. In addition, the finding provides educators with the knowledge that Inarajan students may have a language resource in Chamorro that could be used to a greater degree to promote their academic learning.

The second study provided support for the test-retest reliability of the SFH. Although some shifts occurred from the test to retest occasions, none of the students declined and none of the shifts advanced more than one language level. Results obtained on the two occasions are highly correlated. However, one should expect a slight practice effect, or a nonspecific transfer effect, when repeated testing is conducted with very short intervals between testing occasions.

In answer to another psychometric question about the SFH, the criterion validity of the story retelling task was supported by a procedure which established concurrent validity. Students who can engage in informal conversations in Chamorro about their families are also able to produce Chamorro language for the Story Retelling task of the SFH. Conversely, students who cannot speak spontaneously in Chamorro in an informal conversation cannot respond to the Story Retelling task either. Although these results are encouraging in terms of enhancing the utility of the SFH as an assessment tool, the examiners had the impression that more information is needed on the sociolinguistic aspects of Guam Chamorro children's verbosity. It is troubling to find that their production skills are low in both English and Chamorro. Numerous questions are raised: Are there language contexts in which Chamorro students are capable of freely expressing their ideas and feelings in one language or the other? If so, what are these contexts? What are the participant structures of language interaction within these contexts? What are the characteristics of the language used at these times and in these contexts? What are the culturally appropriate educational approaches to improving English and Chamorro speaking proficiency for Guam Chamorro students? If there are cultural rules of silence, how should these rules be modified for the school setting in order to advance the academic and intellectual development of the students?

The results of these two studies have important implications for educational policy and practice in Guam. First, the somewhat unexpected finding that the majority of the Chamorro students of Guam in Study 1 were NES or LES must be addressed by procedures which will fulfill the legal protections for Limited English Proficent (LEP) children. At present, there is no identification and assessment system in Guam for identifying LEP children. Neither is there a systematic program of structured ESL instruction for LEP students.

On a local level, this finding calls for a close examination of the instructional context as it relates to the ladder of language acquisition stages. In Guam, where both of the students´ languages are developing concurrently, attention must be given simultaneously to how instruction relates to the developmental ladders of both English and Chamorro. Popular models of second language acquisition, such as Krashen´s Natural Approach (1983), might rely on the notion of an extended "silent period" to explain the Guam Chamorro students´ lack of oral production in English and Chamorro. However, several factors seem to counter such an interpretation. First, Guam is a multilingual community. From birth, a Chamorro child will be exposed to both English and Chamorro in substantial quantities. Thus, they have already had five years of listening in both languages before entering school. Second, even after five and six years of predominantly English instruction, many students cannot adequately produce English beyond the LES level. This contrasts sharply with the rate at which NES/LES students in U.S. bilingual programs achieve maximum scores on the LAS and other comparable tests of English proficiency (e.g., Spencer and Prince, 1984). Clearly, something beyond more pre-production types of instruction are warranted. Instructional observations by the authors in many of Guam´s schools suggest that it would be fruitful to provide teacher training in activities which develop students´ language interaction and self expression. Attention to the ratio of teacher talk to student talk could increase the active linguistic participation of students in the schooling experience. Techniques such as the Total Physical Response, cooperative learning, and reciprocal teaching would all be appropriate to oral language development. Appropriate literacy instruction techniques would include those which emphasize sustained writing activities, peer sharing and peer editing, as well as language experience discussions which actively involve students in discussions of what they have done and read. If students spend most of their school years in a passive NES/LES - NCS/LCS mode, these are years in which they will miss many of the benefits of education. If the years required for the early language acquisition stages could be compressed for the Chamorro students of Guam, it is likely that their ultimate educational outcomes could be accelerated and qualitatively enhanced.

Guam´s language experiences may provide the blueprint for the other developing school systems throughout Micronesia. Guam is the first of the Micronesia Region island entities to experience a significant decline in its indigenous language. As emphasis on English in most spheres of life has replaced Chamorro, the Chamorro children appear to have been caught in a transitional bind. They receive minimal amounts of Chamorro language acquisition opportunities at both school and home, and the design of their English instruction is generally better suited for native English speaking students than for students progressing through the developmental stages of second language acquisition. Yet, as is true of other Micronsian language groups, the indigenous language is valued in Guam. Schools are required by law to teach 20 minutes of Chamorro per day from K to grade 6. The results of these studies suggest that either the time or the pedagogical effectiveness of this instruction should be increased. And, the results are encouraging in that the students´ Chamorro proficiency improved after only a short period of instructional intervention. Chamorro summer school proved to be a good investment for the students in Study 1. For many years, public concern has revolved around the low scores that Guam students receive on U.S. standardized tests of achievement. When students cannot express their ideas in simple interactive communication situations in either of their languages, it should not be surprising that they have difficulty with reading comprehension and tasks requiring higher order thinking skills. For other Micronesian Region educational systems, these results caution that the drive to achieve English competency should not proceed in a manner that neglects the full development of all linguistic skills (listening/speaking/reading /writing) in both the primary and the second language. The price may be high in English achievement as well as in the maintenance and development of the indigenous language.

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A SURVEY OF LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES IN GUAM

Carol Odo
Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute
December, 1972

Language Use

The island of Guam has a population of over 85,000 of which approximately 48,000 are Chamorro.[1] The official language is English since Guam is a United States Territory. The indigenous language is Chamorro and is spoken by most Chamorros. This report contains the results of a sociolinguistic survey of Chamorro/English bilingualism conducted in June-July, 1972; its goals were to determine general directions in language use and language attitudes based on interviews with 220 Chamorros.

Methodology

A sample of 220 was considered sizeable enough to include all types of variation, and representative enough to indicate major patterns in language use and attitudes.

Most of the interviews were conducted by bilingual Chamorros who approached the prospective respondent using Chamorro, initially. With a questionnaire (Appendix) printed in both English and Chamorro as a guide, the interviewers either continued in Chamorro or switched to English, depending on the respondent's linguistic ability. Interviewers were instructed to interview various members of each household: grandparents, parents, and children.

The respondents' self-reporting of their language use was roughly checked against their ability to translate several sentences from English to Chamorro. The translation test served mainly to separate the bilinguals from the monolinguals. A further check was made by informal observation in public places: stores, banks and government buildings. The language used by persons who looked Chamorro when addressing clerks or officials who also looked Chamorro was noted as to whether it was Chamorro or English. Here again, native Chamorros were employed as observers.

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[1] *In the original report, the term Guamanian was used to refer to those native-born of Chamorro ancestry. Since the date of this report, the term Chamorro has become the preferred term; thus, it is used in this reprinting of the report.*

In spite of the problems involved with data collection, the completed questionnaires showed enough internal consistency to be acceptable for analysis.

The interviewers were instructed to approach respondents at random. They were asked by the researcher to sign up to interview a certain number of households from different villages so the same percentage of the total population of each village would be represented. It was apparent after everyone had signed up that the interviewers preferred certain villages over others. It was also apparent when the first filled questionnaires started coming in that some of the interviewers did not understand the questions, although they had been urged to ask for clarification. The researcher advised that they tape all their interviews and bring their tapes to the researcher so their interview style could be checked. Only three did so. In all, the efforts of the interviewers left something to be desired, and perhaps one of the reasons for this is that they were not explicitly hired to be interviewers. They had been borrowed from their regular jobs. The final data, then, was not a random sample, and are not geographically representative of the island.

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The data used in the analysis are not purely representative in the sense that all different income and age groups are represented according to percentages based on census data. The dwellings and neighborhoods in which the respondents lived are described by interviewers as average, middle-class, or lower middle-class. Most of the respondents were either unemployed or held skilled, white-collar, or unskilled positions. They are representative in the sense that most Chamorros live in lower-middle to middle-class houses and hold jobs up to white-collar positions.

Table 1

Age and Sex of Respondents

Age Group	Total	Female	Male
6-12	20	15	5
13-18	43	33	10
19-24	25	19	6
25-34	28	16	12
35-44	34	27	7
45-54	35	22	13
55-64	16	11	5
65 & over	19	14	5
Total	220	157	63

Indicators

Age. Of all the respondents, 185 were bilingual and 35 were monolingual, either in Chamorro or in English. An examination of the data reveals that monolinguals are either very young or very old: young in the case of English monolinguals, and old in the case of Chamorro monolinguals. Bilinguals in this survey range from age 6 through 65. It is clear from Table 2 that age is a good indicator of language use.

Table 2

Bilinguals and Monolinguals According to Age

Age Group	Total	Bilingual		Monolingual			
				Chamorro		English	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
6-12	20	16	80	—	—	4	20
13-18	43	37	86	—	—	6	14
19-24	25	24	96	—	—	1	4
25-34	28	27	97	—	—	1	3
35-44	34	34	100	—	—	—	—
45-54	35	35	100	—	—	—	—
55-64	16	13	81	3	19	—	—
65 & over	19	9	47	10	53	—	—

Of all respondents, 88 percent were bilingual, approximately 6 percent monolingual in Chamorro, and 6 percent monolingual in English. The figures indicate that Chamorro monolingualism is fading out while English monolingualism is growing. It should be noted, however, that even among the young there are more bilinguals than monolinguals.

Sex. There appears to be an association between sex and the use of English or Chamorro. Approximately 28 percent of the respondents were male. This assymmetry is due to the fact that all interviews were conducted in the homes and usually in the daytime, when the men were at work. Table 3 shows the differences between men and women regarding greater English fluency. The data are from answers to the question, "Which language do you speak better?" Some of the answers to this question should not be taken at face value, but should be interpreted as answers to the question, "What would you like people to think that you speak better, Chamorro or English?"

Table 3

Professed Greater English Fluency by Sex

Sex	Age Group	Total	No. More Fluent in English	Percentage
F	13-18	33	16	48
M		10	4	40
F	19-24	19	9	48
M		6	2	33
F	25-34	16	6	38
M		12	4	33
F	35-44	27	3	11
M		7	1	14
F	45-54	22	1	4
M		13	0	0
F	55 & over	11	0	0
M		5	0	0

In Table 3 the general age pattern is maintained with both males and females: the younger claim more English fluency than the older; there is decreasing English fluency with increasing age. With the exception of Age Group 35-44 (the one male who skews the pattern is a serviceman married to a non-Chamorro), there is at least a difference of 5 percent between male and female in all age groups, the men reporting less English fluency than women.

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These data are corroborated by data from another part of the questionnaire which asked the allocation of the two languages. With very few exceptions, the same respondents who claimed greater English fluency also claimed that they used more English at home and at social gatherings.

In other studies of language use in the United States, it has generally been found that women are quicker to adapt to change than men (Labov, 1966). The change going on in Guam is apparent: Chamorro has fewer functional roles among younger bilinguals than among older ones; a number of those under 20 years are no longer bilingual.

The point of Chamorro women being a step ahead of the men in their facility in English is further illustrated by interviews with teenage members of the same families: the girls invariably say they use more English than the boys when speaking to the same people, such as cousins, siblings, and neighbors.

Location. Physically, there are no major discrete subdivisions in Guam. A fair system of roads connects all villages with the capital, and the amount of vehicular traffic suggests a high degree of mobility for people throughout the island. Both social and linguistic isoglosses are difficult to maintain in such a society. There is still, however, a feeling that geographical boundaries exist and that the island can be divided into basically two parts: the South, which includes Umatac, Merizo, and Inarajan; the North, which includes everything else. There is a fuzzy central area encompassing Yona, Talofofo, Agat and Santa Rita, which some people still consider as part of the South; however, the basic division is between Umatac, Merizo, and Inarajan and the rest of the island. Nearly all Chamorros claim that people from the southern part of the island speak Chamorro with a "different" accent, which is popularly described as "sing-song." Chamorros from the southern villages are also considered somewhat backward and less affluent than the Chamorros from other parts of the island.

If social, economic and linguistic progress go hand-in-hand, and if linguistic advancement means being more fluent in English than in Chamorro, then we would expect the South to be weaker in English, and stronger in Chamorro than the North. According to data from the questionnaire, those people who indicated greater fluency in English are spread over the island. This is indicated in Table 4, which also lists the villages and the number of informants representing each village.

Table 4
Professed English Fluency by Village

Village	No. of Respondents	No. More Fluent in English	Percentage
North			
Agana	5	2	40
Agat	14	1	7
Asan	15	2	13
Barrigada	31	7	22
Chalan Pago-Ordot	26	2	7
Dededo	10	5	50
Mangilao	11	4	36
Piti	1	0	0
Santa Rita	46	9	19
Talofofo	18	1	5
Tamuning	1	0	0
Toto-Mongmong	9	2	22
Tumon	4	1	25
Yigo	10	5	50
Yona	18	1	5
South			
Inarajan	7	0	0
Merizo	16	5	31

The percentages in Table 4 do not tell as much as those in Table 5. Notice that English monolinguals hail only from the North.

Table 5

English Monolinguals by Village

Village	No. of Respondents	No. of English Monolingual	Percentage
Asan	15	3	20
Chalan Pago-Ordot	26	2	7
Dededo	10	1	10
Santa Rita	46	5	10
Yona	18	1	5

An even better indication of language differences between North and South is shown in Table 6, where the third column represents parents who claim that their children (under 10 years of age) can speak Chamorro. The number of respondents represents parents who have children under 10 years old.

Table 6

Parents Who Say that their Children Can Speak Chamorro, by Village

Village	No. of Respondents	Children Can Speak Chamorro
Agana	1	0
Agat	6	3
Asan	4	1
Barrigada	7	4
Chalan Pago-Ordot	7	3
Dededo	3	0
Mangilao	5	4
Santa Rita	14	6
Toto-Mongmong	3	0
Tumon	1	0
Yigo	3	0
Total (North)	54	21(38%)
Inarajan	4	3
Merizo	7	5
Total (South)	11	8 (72%)

An association can be seen with age also, since all parents who say their under-10-year-old children can speak Chamorro are themselves over 35 years old, except for four who are from the South.

Other Indicators of Language Use

Other factors such as level of education and occupation are relatively minor compared with the ones discussed above, and are so closely linked with the age factor that there would be little merit in going into them separately. Of all social indicators, age is the most significant and will be given primary consideration throughout this report.

Domains

This section investigates several domains in which the bilingual uses either English or Chamorro when encountering other bilinguals. Speaker, addressee, and language used are the only factors dealt with here. The social setting, topic, and type of audience present also have bearings on language use, but these and other fine points are difficult to measure and would have been impossible to determine within the alloted time for the project.

The first page of the questionnaire gives clues as to the roles of Chamorro and English among bilinguals. In general, English has a limited function among older bilinguals. It is used when speaking to non-Chamorros and young children. Among younger bilinguals, the reverse is true; Chamorro is more frequently used when speaking to elders and less frequently when speaking to peers.[2]

Home. Table 7 shows respondents' self-reports to the question, "What language do you use with members of your family?" The column heading "Both" is perhaps vague, but bilinguals are often ambivalent as to the choice of language in some situations; they are equally likely to use either Chamorro or English, or a mixture of the two.

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[2] *A separate child language study conducted by Odo in 1971 supports this. Most Chamorro children under seven years spoke almost exclusively English when playing among themselves. It was only during elicitation tests that they used Chamorro.*

Table 7
Language Used within the Family

Family Member	Predominantly Chamorro		Predominantly English		Both		Total
	No.	%*	No.	%	No.	%	
Approximately Same Age							
Spouse	70	71	3	3	56	34	99
Cousin	93	57	12	19	56	34	100
Older							
Sibling	58	56	5	4	41	40	104
Parents	157	81	6	3	31	16	194
Aunts, Uncles	122	76	3	1	36	23	161
Grandparents	149	91	0	0	13	19	162
Younger Siblings							
Age 1-5	8	17	23	51	14	31	45
6-10	17	26	22	33	27	41	66
11-over	53	44	16	14	49	42	118
Children							
Age 1-5	7	10	42	64	17	26	66
6-10	7	9	40	52	30	39	77
11-over	10	16	19	31	33	53	162
Nieces, Nephews	36	23	42	26	81	51	159
Grandchildren	4	10	25	60	13	30	42

* Percentage of total responses for each category

Table 7 shows that the language used with older family members is predominantly Chamorro; that is, bilinguals are more likely to speak Chamorro to their parents, aunts, uncles, and grandparents. They are more likely to use English when addressing younger siblings, nieces, nephews and children.

There is also a significant difference in the language used with children - whether they are sibling or offspring - who are over ten years of age, and children who are ten and under. The speakers' age is also important since older parents use less English with their children than younger parents (Table 8).

Table 8

Language Preference when Speaking to Children, by Parents' Age

Age of	Chamorro		English		Both		Total
Parent	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
19-24	—	—	6	85	1	15	7
25-34	—	—	12	75	4	25	16
35-44	3	11	17	63	7	26	27
45-54	3	13	10	43	10	43	23

Except with the oldest group of parents, those between 45 and 54, there is a significant preference for English. Respondents who were grandparents replied that they use Chamorro with everyone except their grandchildren.

Outside the Home. The language used at social gatherings and public places is more likely to be Chamorro - except when one is speaking to young children. Respondents indicated that most of their social life is carried on in Chamorro (Table 10).

In department stores, government offices and other public places, bilinguals favor Chamorro slightly more than English. See Table 9 for answers to the questions relating to what language is used with salesclerks, public officials, and a stranger when asking directions. The answers, of course, are self-reports where reliability is subject to question; however, these same answers correspond to the results of a separate survey based on informal observations in stores and offices. In this survey a discretely positioned observer noted down the language spoken by a customer who looked Chamorro to a clerk who also looked Chamorro. Forty-four, or 56 percent of the 79 customers observed, approached clerks in Chamorro. While the percentage is not the same as those from the questionnaire, it is noteworthy that choices in the self-reports are also higher for Chamorro than English (Tables 9 and 10).

Table 9

Language Used at Work and in Public

Addressee	Chamorro		English		Both	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Public Official	15	7	80	37	125	56
Salesclerk	47	22	36	17	137	63
Man in the Street	47	22	24	10	149	68
Fellow Employee	23	21	21	20	62	59

As the above table shows, Chamorros at work tend to use more Chamorro than English.

The allocation of language is summarized in Table 10 to facilitate comparison between different domains.

Table 10

Summary of Language Use, by Domain

Language	Home		Social		Public		Occupation	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Chamorro	111	51	114	52	83	37	23	22
English	53	24	48	21	71	33	21	20
Both	56	25	58	27	66	30	62	58

As illustrated above, the Chamorro language is more readily used by adult bilinguals in all spheres of mutual interaction. Their attitudes toward bilingualism are mixed, but significant patterns can be determined through the questionnaire answers, and judgements can be made on these bases.

Preferred Fluency for Children

The main reason that less than half of the parents can say that their children are able to speak Chamorro is that they themselves prefer to speak to them in English, even though they use Chamorro with other family members (Tables 6 and 7). Why is this? Because a good early grasp of English will ensure success in school, and early success brings with it the promise of later success. Parents say:

> "I want them to get used to communicating in English so they will not be educationally handicapped."

> "The teachers in school emphasize that Chamorro children need to practice and think in English."

"I want them to speak English - my decision for their future."

"I would like them (her children) to learn and know both languages, especially Chamorro because it´s not very good if they don´t know how to speak Chamorro; sometimes they are spoken to in Chamorro and they don´t know what the speaker is saying. Especially my children, whenever I get angry and I speak Chamorro, they turn around and tell me to speak English and in the state of anger, it´s very hard for English to come out - so I just chase my children out of the house."[3]

The last comment was made by a 43 year old housewife in Asan who claims to speak English to her children and Chamorro to everyone else.

Many of the older parents entered school with little or no knowledge of English and suffered the consequences of a curriculum based on both the English language and North American culture. These parents do not consciously try to teach Chamorro to their children because they feel the children will learn it anyway. After all, no one taught them (the parents) Chamorro; they just picked it up naturally since it was the only language people spoke. Illustrating this point are more quotations taken from the questionnaire:

"My children will learn Chamorro by playing with other children and also my in-laws that don´t speak English."

"The very young ones speak English because that´s what their parents first taught them. But as they grow older they speak Chamorro."

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[3] *This is a translation of her response which she gave in Chamorro to interviewer Antoinette C. Cruz who taped, transcribed, and translated the original, which went:*

"Oh, hu'u, todo i dos, maolek ha'sa' baba lokkue' anggin ti matungo' manfino' Chamorro yuka' manmakuentutusi ti - puet ha' este siha i famagu'on-hu - yanggin esta yo' lalalo' yo' sigi yo' fumino' Chamorro matagu' yo' para bai hu fino' Englis ya' guaha na ti u hulat kumonprende hafa malaklakgnos gi patchot-ta - dulalak."

Parents assume that somewhere along the line (between the ages of six and ten years) the child will be able to understand and speak Chamorro, and sure enough, if the environment is favorable, the child becomes bilingual.[4]

This seems to have been the case for at least the past twenty years, for more than half of the bilinguals under thirty years of age claim that they are more fluent in English, and that Chamorro is their second language. A 22 year old bilingual said she learned to speak Chamorro from her friends in junior high school.

Not all parents, however, feel the same way. There are those who insist that their children learn Chamorro first. But these parents are in the minority and perhaps their children do not do as well in school as other children. They have refused to follow current fashions in language use because they feel that Chamorro should be their first language; they are conscious of a responsibility to maintain their traditions.

Whatever language parents want their chidren to learn first, almost all are in favor of a stable bilingualism (Table 11).

Table 11
Preferred Fluency for Children

Type of Response	No. of Respondents
Good Chamorro/Good English	72
Good English/a little Chamorro	20
Good English/no Chamorro	2

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[4] *In Hawaii in the early 1900's, Hawaiian parents did not teach their children the Hawaiian language since the children would pick it up anyway (John E. Reinecke, personal communication); the result of this attitude was unfortunate.*

Future of Chamorro?

Respondents were questioned on whether they thought the Chamorro language was dying; and if so, what, if anything, could be done to save it. The answers are given as Table 12:

Table 12

The Future

Views	Yes	No/No Opinion
Language dying	124	96
Suggestions		
Teach in School	80	17
Teach or Use at Home	25	14
Both	44	4

Some of those who answered "no" or "no opinion" as to whether Chamorro was dying, nevertheless wanted to see it maintained in both home and school.

Only one respondent expressed herself strongly against the maintenance of Chamorro:

> "The preservation of the language would be to no avail in the long run."

Twelve other respondents, however, were indifferent or were sympathetic to the changes going on. Typical comments are:

> "I feel the need for more English. Time changes. There are so many different people here and English is the most common language; we have to use it."

> "Ten years from now the language will be extinct and nothing can be done about it."

Other

In spite of the fact that, for many of them, Chamorro is a second language, it appears that many young Chamorros encourage the use of Chamorro among themselves since it gives them a unique identity in an environment threatened by Statesiders, Filipinos, and others. There is a growing number of "Americanized" Chamorros - those who have adopted American culture at the expense of their own traditions, but they are in a minority. A certain amount of ethnic pride is indicated among the young who refer to the extremely Americanized as "Amerikanon pau asu" (American with the smell of ashes), and "Amerikanon papa´ patas-hu" (American under my foot), etc. These youth feel that there is a proper Chamorro way to behave when among friends: one should eat with fingers; one should speak Chamorro.

At this time, these young people probably represent a small minority, but they are like other non-white Americans who realize the futility of striving toward alien (American) ideals.

Language Mixture

As in other bilingual communities, the English and Chamorro spoken by Chamorros show mutual influences on each other, although no separate dialects of either have arisen as a result of contact. Clearly, there is no post-creole dialect such as Hawaiian English or Black English which, by definition, requires the prior existence of a pidgen or creole. It is a sociolinguistic axiom that the development of a pidgen in a situation of only two languages in contact - such as is the case in Guam - is highly unlikely. The areas of current mutual influences will be discussed below.

Chamorro Influences on English

The linguistic influence of Chamorro on the English that Chamorros speak is described in detail by D. M. Topping (1963). A recent survey of Chamorro children´s speech, conducted in June - August, 1971, reflects not only the children´s own language difficulties but also indicates trends in language use.

First of all, it was difficult to find bilingual informants among four to six year olds. When one girl was asked why she didn´t speak Chamorro, she said that her mother didn´t want her to. Second, the bilingual children surveyed showed a marked preference for English. Left among themselves with the tape recorder on, they spoke English, and during elicitation tests they were often stuck for Chamorro words or else used English words: e.g., "na´clean" for "na´gasgas." The recorded child data show more English utterances than Chamorro, and thus have been useful in an analysis of the children´s use of English. The following is a summary of findings based on the data collected in 1971:

1. In English speech, Chamorro loan words are usually limited to personal or private domains, cuisine, and other culturally salient things;

2. Pronunciation of English varies from heavily Chamorro (all final stops devoiced; low-rising terminal contour for declarative sentences) to nearly standard English. R-ful pronunciation, a feature of general American English is the norm;

3. Syntax does not grossly deviate from standard English, but some of the more common mistakes are:

    a. Confusion of pronoun gender;
    b. Confusion of present and past tenses; e.g., "When you buy it you washed it."

But these deviations are not significant because they are infrequent and irregular; that is, they are unpredictable and should probably be disposed of as performance errors. What are far more striking than the mistakes are the correct usages of standard English features which have no counterpart in Chamorro. The copula, for example, was realized 100 percent of the time by Chamorro children, but only 45 percent of the time by middle-class Hawaiian children of the same age in comparable contexts.

Phonological deviations from standard English are more regular than syntactic ones, although they do vary with standard English realizations in the children's speech. The general population seems to show a tendency toward a general American pronunciation of English, which seems to have become a prestige norm. It may also be the case that Chamorros who have a sense of ethnic identity also regard Chamorro-accented English as favored in in-group contexts. Young clerical and professional people, servicemen, and others who are in close contact with Statesiders show this tendency.[5]

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[5] *Chamorros who have a sense of ethnic identity may also regard Chamorro-accented English as favored in in-group contexts.*

There seems to be, then, a kind of language mastery continuum (in the sense of Reinecke, 1969) in which correct English with a Stateside pronunciation lies at one extreme, and ungrammatical, Chamorro-accented English lies at the other.

The latter might be called "Chamorro English," a dialect distinct from standard English in phonological rules and intonation features; and irregularly colored by Chamorro morpho-syntactic and stylistic attitudes. It is an abstraction which lies at one end of the language mastery continuum and has no definable speech community. Most English-speaking Chamorros operate somewhere between the two extremes, so that "Chamorro English" has very little social reality.

English Influences on Chamorro

Like Spanish, English has made its most noticeable contribution in the area of vocabulary; certain idioms and cuss words favor English. There seems to be a kind of English-influenced change reflected in the translation test which was administered as part of the language survey. Most of the translated sentences were translated on-the-spot by the interviewers and hence are open to question since accuracy is often undermined by perceptual problems, interference from the transcriber´s grammar, etc. At worst, these sentences suggest hypotheses to be tested with better data; at best, they can give us a rough guideline as to the trends in language use. Table 13 shows that most of the deviant forms of the sentence "Pumepeska si Tomas giya Hagat" (Tommy is fishing in Agat) were given by respondents under 18 years of age.

Table 13
Percentages within Age Group of Deviances for Sentence: "Pumepeska si Tomas giya Hagat"

Age Group	Total Responses	Correct	Deviant	% Deviant
6-12	12	3	9	75
12-18	32	19	13	40
19-24	20	17	3	15
25-34	19	18	1	5
35 & over	45	43	2	4

The most common deviation was substitution of *gi* for *giya*. Both prepositions are used in the sense of "at," "in," but *giya* is the correct form for use with place names. While older speakers will always distinguish between the two, it appears that younger speakers have generalized the use of *gi*. The only other deviations were incorrect forms of the verb; e.g., *pumemeska* for *pumepeska*, which was also confined almost exclusively to those under 18.

Other variants which older speakers mentioned as ungrammatical forms used by younger speakers are:

1. *Lexical*:

    a. *manao* for *humanao* ("to go");
    b. *gumando/gumagando* for *humugando/humugagando* ("to play/playing");
    c. *sumamaga* for *sumasaga* ("staying); same as *pumemeska*;

2. *Syntactic*:

   a. *para manbola hami* for *para bai in fanbola* ("we-inclusive shall bowl");
   b. *bai hanao yo´ mapiknik* for *para bai in hanao pumiknik* ("we-inclusive shall go for a picnic")
   c. *guahu makano´ yo´*
   d. *malago´ -mu chumocho* for *malago´hao chumocho* ("do you want to eat")
   e. *hagu baba* for *baba hao* ("you´re bad")

If these observations reflect actual changes, then it may be assumed the changes are due to English-dominant bilingualism which comes from learning Chamorro after English. Better data will be needed to determine definite trends in Chamorro grammar, however.

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APPENDIX

GUAM LANGUAGE SURVEY

1. (Name) Na´an ____________ (Age) Idat ____________ Village ____________
   Occupation—head of household / Your Occupation
   Hafa offisiön-na si tata ____________ che´cho´-mu ____________
   Family Role / Education
   Posision-mu gi familia ____________ Edukasion ____________
2. Languages you can speak / read / write
   Hafa na linguahi sina un usa? ________ taitai ________ tuge´ ________
3. Which language do you use with: (Indicate whether English, Chamorro, or both)
   Hafa na linguahi un u´usa ni:
   a. (spouse) asagua ____________
   b. (older siblings) manamko´ na che´lu ____________
   c. (younger siblings) manhoben na che´lu: Age 0-5 ________ 5-10 ________ 10- ________
   d. (grandparents) guello ____________
   e. (grandchildren) nientu ____________
   f. (parents) manaina ____________
   g. (children) famagu´on) ________ 0-5 ________ 5-10 ________ 10- ________
   h. (cousins) primo ____________
   i. (aunts/uncles) tiha/tihu ____________
   j. (nieces/nephews) sobrina/sobrino ____________
   k. (friend) atungo´ ____________ ga´chong ____________
   l. (neighbors) bisino ____________
4. Which language would you use with the following if you know they are Chamorro or look Chamorro?
   Hafa na linguahi mohon un usa yanggen manasodda´ hamyo yan taotao-siha ni´ kalan manparehu pat kalan posision Chamorro?
   a. (public officials) officiat ____________
   b. (salesclerk) tiendero ____________
   c. (teachers) maestro: Halom i klas ____________ hiyong i klas ____________
   d. fellow workers ____________
   e. (supervisor) bosson ____________
   f. (subordinates ____________
   g. (man in the street—asking directions)
      taotao gi chalan, mamamaisen direksion:
      1. (well-dressed-male/female) espot-lahi ____________ palao´an ____________
      2. (poorly-dressed-male/female) baba magagu-na-lahi ____________ palao´an ________
   h. (priest) pale´ ____________ (sister) etmana ____________
5. Which language do you speak the most at home?
   Hafa na linguahi mas in i´isa gi gima´? CHECK ONE
   a. (more C than E) kao mas fino´ Chamorro ke fino´ English? ________
   b. (more E than C) kao mas fino´ Englis ke Chamorro? ________
   c. (the same for both) parehu i dos? ________
6. Which language do you speak the most at social gatherings?
   Hafa na linguahi mas un u´usa gi inetnon?
   a. (more C than E) kao mas fino´ Chamorro ke fino´ Englis? ________
   b. (more E than C) kao mas fino´ Englis ke fino´ Chamorro? ________
   c. (the same for both) parehu i dos? ________
7. Do your children speak Chamorro? Understand Chamorro?
   Kao matungo´ i famagu´on-mu manfino´ Chamorro? ________ Makomprende Chamorro? ________
8. If you do not speak Chamorro to your children, why not?
   Yanggen ti un fino´ Chamorruye i famagu´on-mu, sa´ hafa?

____

Interviewer ____________ Date ____________ conducted in ____________

Description of house and neighborhood:

Which language did you learn first? Where?
Hafa na linguahi tiningo´-mu fine´nena? ____________ Manu? ____________
second? Where?
segundo? ____________ Manu? ____________

Which language do you speak better?
Hafa na linguahi nai mas kapas hao? ____________

Which language would you like to speak better?
Hafa na linguahi ya-mu na para un mas maolek? ____________

The following are some of the problems concerning the people of Guam. Please rank them in their order of gravity. drugs, VD, housing, language, crime.
Meggai na taotao maneslotot ha nu este siha no problema guini giya Guam. Manu mas bgrabbe na problema para hagu? Pues:

Would you subscribe to a Chamorro newpaper?
Yanggen guaha cassettu gi fino´ Chamorro, kao un famahan?

Which would you want for your children to speak?
Hafa malago´-mu para i famagu´on-mu?
good Chamorro — no English
1. pura Chamorro — taya fino´ Englis
good Chamorro — little English (just enough to get by)
2. pura Chamorro — dididi ha´ na fino´ Englis
good Chamorro — good English
3. pura Chamorro — pura Englis
little Chamorro — good English
4. dididi ha´ na fino´ Chamorro — pura Englis
no Chamorro — good English
5. taya Chamorro — pura Englis

Do you know there is a law against speaking Chamorro in public?
What do you think about it?
Kao un tungo´ na putbido fumino´ Chamorro gi departmenton i gobetno? Hafa opinion-mu pot este?

Do you have problems understanding your grandparents when they speak Chamorro?
grandchildren
parents
children

Kao un kompreprende i nientu-mu yanggen manfino´ Chamorro?
manaina-mu
famagu´on-mu
guello-mu
Why?
Pot hafa siha na raison?

(For older people) What do you think of the Chamorro spoken by younger people today? Is it sloppy, ungrammatical?
Hafa hinasson-mu pot i fino´ Chamorron i manhoben? Kao dinanche pat ti dinanche?
For example
Pot i hemplo:

Do you think the Chamorro language is dying out?
Hafa hinasson-mu? Kao kumekefalingo´ i linguahen i Chamorro?

How can it be saved?
Hafa sina ta cho´gue para ta satba i linguahi para ti u falingo?

Other comments:

1. Your spouse/brother/sister is on his way to the store.
   You would like some coke. How would you ask him/her to get it?
   Para u hanao i asagua-mu/che´lu-mu para i tenda. Ya malago´ hao kok. Taimanu para faisen-mu?

2. How would you say these sentences in Chamorro?
   Taimanu masangañña este siha gi fino´ Chamorro?

   a. John is staying in Agana.

   b. Maria is standing by the door.

   c. Tommy is fishing in Agat.

   d. The baby is being picked up by his father.

3. How would you say these sentences in Chamorro?
   Taimanu masangan-ña este siha gi fino´ Chamorro?

   a. I am hungry.

   b. I am Maria.

   c. I am fishing.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES TOWARD GUAMANIAN DIALECT ENGLISH AND STANDARD ENGLISH

Julieta B. Babasa[1]

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Many adults in Guam make pejorative and discriminatory judgements toward Guamamian-Dialect English (GDE). They perceive Standard English (SE) as the prestige variety, associating it with higher socioeconomic status and with linguistic superiority. Images of a set of stereotyped personality characteristics seem to be evoked by each dialect. It is thought that adults who hold these linguistic attitudes are likely to condition the young children with whom they are in contact to regard SE as superior and GDE as inferior language forms. This kind of conditioning takes place overtly in the Guam school system where such attitudes are still expressed by many teachers. Such conditioning also occurs more subtly through the medium of television.

The nature and extent of linguistic attitude conditioning received by young children has not been empirically documented. In general, preschool children have had limited exposure to dialects and speakers of dialects other than their own. Accordingly, they may not have developed attitudes of their own toward either GDE or SE. The extent to which adults explicitly convey their own attitudes to young children is not known, nor is it known the extent to which children are receptive to such teaching, be it direct or subtle. Could adults transmit attitudes to a child about a language or dialect if the child had no knowledge or experience with that dialect and could not identify its speakers? Rosenthal (1974) showed that three to five year old children have already formed attitudes toward Black English and SE. These attitudes are one manifestation of their awareness of the differences between Black English and SE. The study also showed that small children have the ability to discriminate linguistically between the two varieties and the ability to categorize people according to racial stereotypes on the basis of their speech.

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[1] *The text of the original document has been severely condensed for use in this book of readings. The intent behind editorial changes has been to maintain all relevant factual information regarding methodology and results, and to preserve the author's tone in interpretive statements. If errors of judgment have been made, the responsibility is that of the Editor.*

Sociolinguists differ in their opinions on when linguistic attitudes develop in children. Labov (1965) speaks about social perception occurring as the third stage in the acquisition of spoken English and places its beginning at the onset of puberty. Shuy, Baratz, and Wolfram (1969) found that sixth graders could identify Black speakers 79.7 percent of the time and White speakers 74.3 percent of the time. Baratz and Shuy (1969), utilizing sentence repetition tests and speech identification, found that children as young as third grade level can perceive racial differences from speech samples. Rosenthal (1974) dmonstrated that social awareness develops very early, between the ages of three and six. Day (1980) replicated Rosenthal´s (1974) study in Hawaii, finding that speakers of Hawaiian Creole English switched linguistic preferences and attitudes in the first two grades of school.

The purpose of the current study is to determine the nature and extent of linguistic attitudes attached to GDE and SE by children in Guam aged three to five years. It was hypothesized that children who have not yet been exposed to GDE nor formed attitudes of their own toward it will be susceptible to the teaching of linguistic attitudes and values to GDE by adults.

Method

Participants

The study was conducted with three groups of children. They included: 1) 25 three year old children who had not yet been to school; 2) 25 four year old children who attended the Pre-school Gifted and Talented Program; and 3) 25 children enrolled in Guam public kindergarten classes at M. U. Elementary School. The socioeconomic status of the subjects was not documented. A variety of ethnic groups were represented in the samples. All of the children in the study, with the exception of the three year olds, were currently receiving formal instruction of SE variety from their teachers in school.

Materials and Apparatus

Two "Magic Boxes" were constructed as a means of personifying "Liz" (SE speaker) and "Sabet" (GDE speaker) (Figures 1 and 2). The voice of a fourth grade teacher, who is bilingual in both SE and GDE was taped. The speech samples were not spontaneous, but were improvised from a script written by the speaker. "Liz" and "Sabet" did not translate each other's speech. They attempted to say the same thing semantically, but in a way characteristic of the particular variety of language that they were representing. The speech samples differed characteristically in pronunciation, intonation, accent, vocal quality, and syntax.

Procedure

The attitude study consisted of two parts: a "Taking" subtest and a "Giving" subtest. Each subtest represented a series of attitude questions designed to elicit evaluations and attitudes of personal preferences toward speakers of the two dialectal varieties. Each subtest also forced the participating children to make a behavioral choice by requiring them to both take

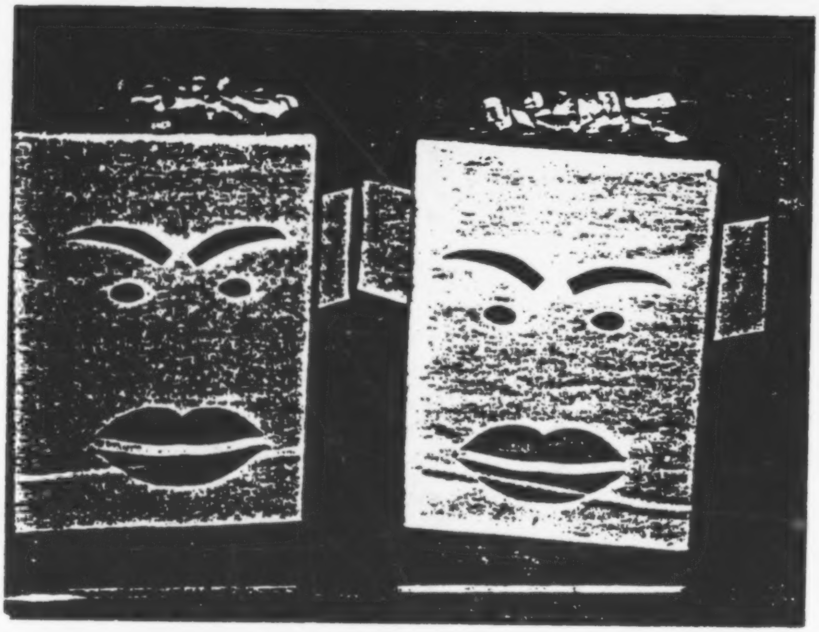

Figure 1. Illustration of the front view of the "Magic Boxes."

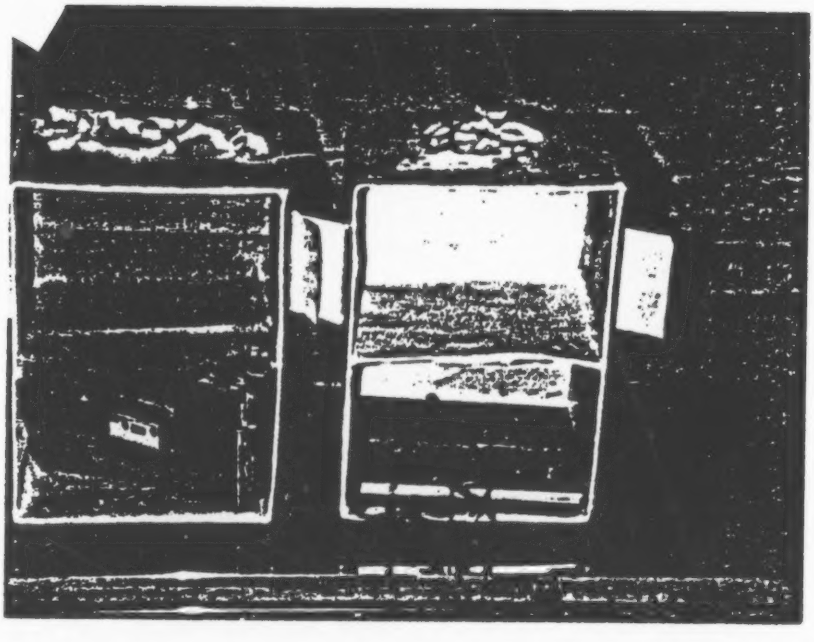

Figure 2. Illustration of the back view c^f the "Magic Boxes." The upper shelf is the compartment for the presents. The lower shelf is the compartment for the cassette tape player.

a present from, and also to give a present to, one of the symbolic dialect speakers, either "Liz" or "Sabet.

The directions, speech stimuli, and attitude questions for the "Taking" and "Giving" subtests are presented below:

"Taking" Subtest Directions.

Interviewer: Do you see these funny boxes? Do you know what they do? They talk and they give presents. This box is Sabet and this box is Liz. Sabet has a present she wants to give you and Liz has a present she wants to give you. But let´s listen to them talk now and then you can decide which one you want to take your present from.

"Taking" Subtest Speech Stimuli.

Sabet: Hi. My name Sabet. I go to school in Yona. I haf nice present. You´ll like this a lot. Is nice and fun to play wif. Bet you can´t guess what it is? I give you a clue. It got about five color. You never got a present like this before. You play wif it a long time. My friend, she got one too. She like it a whole lot. You gonna take the present, No?

Liz: Hi. My name is Liz. I go to school here in Yona. I have a very nice present for you. It´s really fun to play with. In fact, I´d bet that no one has given you a present this nice. Can you guess what it is? Here, I´ll give some clues. It has about five colors and it will last you for a long time. My friend has one. She plays with it all the time. She likes it a lot. You´re going to take this present aren´t you?

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"Taking" Subtest Attitude Questions.

Interviewer:
1. Which box has nicer presents?
2. Which box sounds nicer?
3. Which box talks better?
4. Which box do you like better?
5. Which box do you want to take your present from?
6. Why did you pick her?

"Giving" Subtest Directions.

Interviewer: I have a surprise for you now. It's a pad of paper to use with your crayons. I have one for you to keep and one for you to give to the Magic Boxes. But you know what? They both want it. Let's listen to them and you think about which box you're going to give this other pad of paper to.

"Giving" Subtest Speech Stimuli.

Sabet: You not going to give me the paper? My sister want to have it. She's very good drawer. If you give me the paper, my sister is gonna be very happy.

Liz: Aren't you going to give me the paper? My sister would like to have it. She's very good at drawing. If you give me the paper my sister would be really happy.

"Giving" Subtest Attitude Questions.

Interviewer:
1. Which box wants it more?
2. Which box needs it more?
3. Which box sounds nicer?
4. Which box do you want to give it to?
5. Why did you pick her?

Results

The results of the attitude questions of both the "Talking" and "Giving" subtests are presented in Table 1. The question, "Why did you pick her?" is excluded here and will be discussed later in this paper in terms of anecdotally expressed attitudes. The questions are coded to identify those which are directed at evaluation of socioeconomic status and need or linguistic status (Questions 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 9), and those which are directed at personal preference (Questions 2, 4, and 8).

The percentage results in Table 1 indicate that the three year old children, who have not had any formal SE instruction, favor Sabet (GDE speaker) over Liz (SE speaker). The exception to this is on question 6 which shows 52% of these very young children favoring Liz (SE speaker) over Sabet (GDE speaker). A switch in linguistic attitudes is shown by the children enrolled as preschoolers and the group of kindergarteners, all of whom are formally initiated in school to SE instruction. Liz is highly favored by these two populations.

In addition to the specific answers to the nine attitude questions shown in Table 1, many of the children in the three population groups made spontaneous comments with reference to the behavioral choice of taking or giving a present. The attitudes expressed by the children, in answer to the question, "Why did you pick her?," support a finding that children aged three to five years have already formed attitudes toward GDE and SE. These attitudes are listed in Table 2 (for the "Taking" subtest) and Table 3 (for the "giving" subtest). In these comments, the children have called forth other images and stereotypes which were associated with representative speakers of each dialect. These projections and associative attitudes, which seem to have been internalized, do not normally occur in the more controlled comparative questions as seen in the nine attitude questions. However, they proliferate here in the anecdotal responses of the children to the open-ended question, "Why did you pick her?" Note that not all of the children answered this question, especially children in the population of three year olds.

Table 1

Responses to the Attitude Questions
Percent Correct Answers

Question	NS		PS		K	
	S	L	S	L	S	L
-- 1. Which box has nicer presents?	60	40	24	76	44	56
** 2. Which box sounds nicer? (in taking task)	64	36	44	56	48	52
-- 3. Which box talks better?	64	36	40	60	52	68
** 4. Which box do you like better?	52	48	36	60	56	48
-- 5. Which box do you want to take your present from?	60	40	26	74	46	54
-- 6. Which box wants it more?	48	52	36	64	44	56
-- 7. Which box needs it more?	52	48	28	72	40	60
** 8. Which box sounds nicer? (in giving task)	68	32	32	68	32	68
-- 9. Which box do you want to give it to?	52	48	28	72	36	64

** Questions directed toward the children's expression of personal preference.

-- Questions directed at the children's awareness of economic status and need or linguistic status.

NS No School
PS Preschool
K Kindergarten

S Sabet
L Liz

Table 2

Comments in the Taking Subtest in Response to Why They Chose Either Sabet or Liz

Population and Age	Took Present From	Comments
K 5.4	Liz	I like her name (pointing to L).
NS 3.8	Sabet	She is nice (pointing to S).
PS 4.9	Liz	Because her voice sound nice (pointing to L).
PS 4.5	Liz	Because she talked better than her (pointing first to L, then to S).
PS 4.3	Liz	When she talk I like it.
K 5.2	Liz	Because she sounds good (pointing to L).
K 5.9	Liz	She is a girl.
PS 4.4	Liz	She talks good.
PS 4.7	Liz	I like that one (pointing to L).
K 5.6	Sabet	She is better.
K 5.7	Liz	Because she is nice (pointing to L).
K 5.9	Sabet	Because she is cute.
NS 3.2	Sabet	Because she is my mama (pointing to S).
NS 3.5	Sabet	Because I like her.
NS 3.3	Sabet	She is a girl.
NS 3.5	Liz	Because she is nice.
NS 3.7	Liz	She is good (pointing to L).
PS 4.9	Liz	Because I like her.
PS 4.8	Sabet	She is pretty.
PS 4.6	Liz	She talks better.
K 5.3	Liz	Because she is a girl.
K 5.6	Liz	She talks cute.

NS No School
PS Preschool
K Kindergarten

S Sabet
L Liz

Table 3

Comments in the Giving Subtest in Response to Why They Chose Either Sabet or Liz

Population and Age	Gave Present to	Comments
K 5.6	Liz	She sounds better.
PS 4.3	Liz	Because I like this (pointing to L) better.
PS 4.5	Liz	I like the pretty talk.
NS 3.9	Sabet	She is nice.
K 5.5	Liz	When she talks it's more nice.
K 5.4	Sabet	Because she wants it (pointing to S).
K 5.7	Sabet	The sister will be happy.
NS 3.7	Liz	I like her (pointing to L).
NS 3.4	Liz	She wants it.
NS 3.3	Sabet	She is good (pointing to S).
K 5.3	Liz	Because her voice is nice.
K 5.6	Liz	Because she is good.
PS 4.3	Sabet	Her sister will happy.
PS 4.4	Liz	She is better (pointing to L).
PS 4.9	Liz	She is more nicer.
PS 4.9	Liz	She has a nicer voice than this one (pointing to S).
PS 4.8	Liz	She wants it.
PS 4.6	Sabet	She will be happy.
PS 4.5	Sabet	She wants it.
K 5.5	Liz	I like her o lot.
NS 3.2	Liz	She like it.
K 5.4	Liz	I like her.

NS No School
PS Preschool
K Kindergarten

S Sabet
L Liz

Discussion

The results of this study of the language attitudes and preferences of three different groups of children in Guam (three year olds who have not yet been in school, four year olds in the Pre-school Gifted and Talented Program, and a group of kindergarteners) found that:

1. The three year old children evaluated GDE as better than SE and expressed a preference for GDE, and had more positive attitudes toward GDE.

2. The four year old children (receiving formal instruction in SE) evaluated SE as better than GDE. They expressed a higher preference for SE, and had more positive attitudes toward SE than did the five year old kindergarten children.

3. The five year old kindergarten children (who receive bilingual instruction in Chamorro and SE) evaluated SE as better than GDE. They expressed a somewhat lower preference for SE, and had less positive attitudes toward SE than did the four year old children enrolled in the Pre-School Gifted and Talented program.

4. There is a switch in linguistic preference from GDE to SE. Children who have not yet been exposed to school language attitudes evaluated GDE as better than SE, while children already attending school evaluated SE as better than GDE.

These findings may be unsettling to people who do not credit young children with having social perceptions of SE and GDE. But given the data from Rosenthal's study (1974), the results should not be a surprise. What may be more unsettling is how these attitudes develop. The most obvious explantion of how this socialization takes place is that it is transmitted by adults. Adults condition young children to regard SE as superior and GDE as inferior. Such conditioning probably takes place in the schools, where such attitudes may be expressed by teachers, but we should not overlook the possibility of conditioning through parental influences as well.

The message of this study for teachers is clear. They should examine their linguistic preferences and biases and evaluate how they may transmit these to their students. Research has shown that minority languages, such as GDE and other dialects, have grammars, phonologies, rules for forming sentences, for carrying out discourse, and for educated conversation. Teachers should be alert to the effects that negative language attitudes have on the development of their students' self image and self esteem, as well as on their acquisition of Chamorro and English.

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ETHNIC INEQUALITIES
IN GUAM´S SPECIAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Nerissa B. Lee
Guam Department of Education

Studies of the United States special education population in the past decade have revealed that minority children (i.e., Black and Chicano children) are disproportionately represented in special classes in comparison to their distribution in the general school population and the enrollment rates of non-minority children (Comptroller General of the U.S., 1981; Tobias, Cole, Zibrin, and Bodlakova, 1980; Mercer, 1971). Further, children who are linguistically and culturally different from the Anglo majority are placed in the most restrictive in-school programs at higher rates than non-minority children (Massachusetts Advocacy Center, 1981; Tucker, 1978; Mercer, 1971).

These outcomes have raised questions concerning the causes of the disparities in special education ethnic distributions and have precipitated numerous etiological studies which, in turn, have generated alternative explanations about the sources of such disparities. One of the most common explanations of minority over-representation has been what Mercer (1971) describes as the "clinical/medical" theory. This perspective assumes that mental or intellectual deficiency is caused by biological abnormalities which are attributed to inadequate pre- and postnatal care, poor diet, and other environmental conditions that impede the child´s growth and development. Since these circumstances are prevalent within socioeconomically disadvantaged areas, and minority ethnic groups are predominantly within the lower socioeconomic level, mental retardation is therefore more prevalent among such children (Zigler, 1969; Mercer, 1971); hence, a disproportionate rate of referral and placement in special education programs.

A more controversial perspective has been based on a genetic theory which posits that differences in intellectual functioning between Black and White children are largely genetic in origin (Jensen, 1969). This view assumes that minority ethnic children are inherently inferior to other children in academic ability (Peckham, 1980).

Some researchers have attempted to break away from an examinaton of the special education population in isolation and have attributed the dramatic overrepresentation of minority ethnic groups to social problems existing within school systems. In this view, the disproportionate representation of ethnic minorities in special classes has been perceived to be caused by 1) the school's failure to understand the unique cultural and linguistic backgrounds of minority children; 2) a conscious or subconscious effort to keep minority groups in subordinate status (Oakland and Phillips, 1973); or, 3) the use of assessment tools which are discriminatory against minority ethnic groups (Hilliard, 1980; Tobias et al., 1980; Mercer, 1971).

The possible discrimination along ethnic lines which such analyses offer has sparked federal legislation and numerous court cases based on the protection of civil rights. For example, U.S. Public Law 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, includes a procedural safeguard which states:

> "Testing and evaluation materials used for purposes of evaluation and placement must be selected and administered so as not to be racially or culturally discriminatory (Subpart E, Procedural Safeguards, Section 121z 530 (b); Handbook for Delivery of Services, Guam Division of Special Education, 1982-1983; Tobias et al., 1980)."

Litigation charging school districts with discriminatory practices against non-white children has primarily been grounded on the disproportionate representation of Blacks and Mexican-American children in special education classes. Among these class action suits were: Diana v. California State Board of Education (1970) and Larry P. v. Riles (1970) (MacMillan & Meyers, 1980;

Bersoff, 1980). In both cases, court decisions have led to policy changes in assessment instruments and procedures for Black and Chicano children. In the State of California, IQ tests have been banned from use in classifying Black students as mentally retarded, while Mexican-American children are to be assessed in both their primary language and English (Tobias et al., 1980; Bersoff, 1980; MacMillan & Meyers, 1980).

Children who are linguistically and culturally different from the American majority numerically comprise most of Guam´s school age population. As an island located in the Western Pacific region, more than 85% of Guam´s public school population is made up of children with ethnic backgrounds reflective of the indigenous Chamorros of Guam, the Pacific Islanders of various neighboring Micronesian islands, and of many Asian countries. However, Guam, as a non-self-governing territory of the United States, sets forth an educational system governed by the norms of the American society. In this respect, Guam´s educational system is faced with unique challenges. Although Chamorros, other Pacific Islanders, Filipinos, and other Asians collectively comprise the majority in Guam´s public school population, such children can be viewed as "minority" in status in light of the educational standards upon which the curriculum is grounded.

This study was designed to determine if children who are culturally or linguistically different from the U.S. Anglo majority are disproportionately represented in the Guam Public School Special Education Program. It specifically addressed the following questions: 1) Are certain ethnic groups over- or underrepresented in Guam´s Public School Special Education Program? 2) Are any of the ethnic groups over- or underrepresented in the handicapping categories of Guam´s special education program? 3) Are any of the ethnic groups over- or underrepresented in the program description categories of Guam´s special education program?

METHOD

Data used to answer the research questions were compiled from school records of children receiving special education and related services as of March 30, 1983. The records, maintained by the Division of Special Education, were partially updated by a survey instrument distributed to parents and guardians of special education students. The survey gathered information related to ethnic and racial identity and language(s) spoken at home. Data in reference to handicapping conditions and program descriptions were obtained from Individual Instructional Program (IIP) forms. These program sheets are normally filled out by consulting resource teachers during the initial placement and re-evaluation meetings of each child receiving services.

The survey forms were distributed to each parent by school principals during a three month period, December 9, 1982 through March 30, 1983. School administrators were instructed to have the forms collected no later than December 17, 1982 and follow-up survey forms were sent to parents who did not respond by that date. Surveys which were not completed after the first follow-up were turned over to consulting resource teachers who gathered the necessary information through parental contact, examination of student records, or personal knowledge of student background.

Completed surveys were numerically coded by the researcher in accordance with the assigned computer code for each variable. Updated student files were aggregated by the Division of Research, Planning and Evaluation for computer analysis. Specific statistical tests which were applied to answer the research questions will be discussed as each research question is addressed.

SUBJECTS

Subjects used for this study were students enrolled in Guam public schools who were receiving special education and related services as of March 30, 1983.

Student records maintained by the Department of Education indicated that the following fifteen ethnic groups comprise the total public school population: Chamorro, Filipino, Caucasian, Micronesian, Northern Marianas, Other Pacific Islanders, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Other Asian, American Indian, Afro-American, and Hispanic. Subsequent to preliminary analysis which revealed low frequency distributions for several ethnic categories, certain ethnic groups were combined. The recategorization of ethnic categories was conducted after the data had been collected and was based on the geographic locations from which the various ethnic groups originated and frequency distributions. The following ethnic categories were established: Chamorro, students indigenous to Guam; Filipino, students who were born in the Philippines and/or whose parents are of Filipino ancestry; Pacific Islander, students who identified themselves with the Northern Marianas, Micronesia or Other Pacific Islander ethnic groups; Asian, includes students self-identified as Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean, or Other Asian; Other, includes students self-identified as American Indian, Afro-American, Hispanic or with ethnic groups which were not among the fifteen original categories; Caucasian, students who are military dependents or are permanent residents of Guam and are self-identified as such.

LIMITATIONS

This research project was not designed to determine causes of discrepancies which might be revealed in special education ethnic distributions on Guam. Its purposes were solely to determine whether certain types of children, on the basis of ethnicity, are disproportionately represented in the Guam special education population when compared to applicable standards and to determine if identification of particular handicapping conditions and resulting program placement were related to ethnicity.

A high degree of confidence may be placed in the accuracy of the data collected. Information relating to the ethnic/racial identities, handicapping conditions, and program placements are representative of more than 95% of the total special education population. Moreover, sources of information were current IIP forms and people who worked directly with the students (i.e., parents or guardians, teachers, administrators, and case managers). Therefore, data are assumed to be representative of the total special education population in the Guam Public Schools.

RESULTS

Three distinct measures are used in the analysis of results:

1. Simple arithmethic difference between ethnic group proportions in the general versus the special education populations. (general population proportion minus special education population)

2. Over- and Underrepresentation of ethnic groups in special education versus the general population. (arithmetic difference of percentages divided by percentage in general population)

3. Participation Rate is the ratio of the number of students of each ethnic group in special education versus the general population. (number of students in special education divided by number of students in the general population)

Question 1: Are Certain Ethnic Groups Over- or Underrepresented in Guam's Public School Special Education Program?

Figure 1 presents Guam's public school ethnic distribution in the total special education population and school population at large. These data represent population parameters and accordingly do not require statistical tests for significance. The observed differences are real. The special education ethnic distribution was based on 1,946 student records (96% of the total population). Ethnic distributions of the public school population were obtained from school reports dated February 28, 1983.

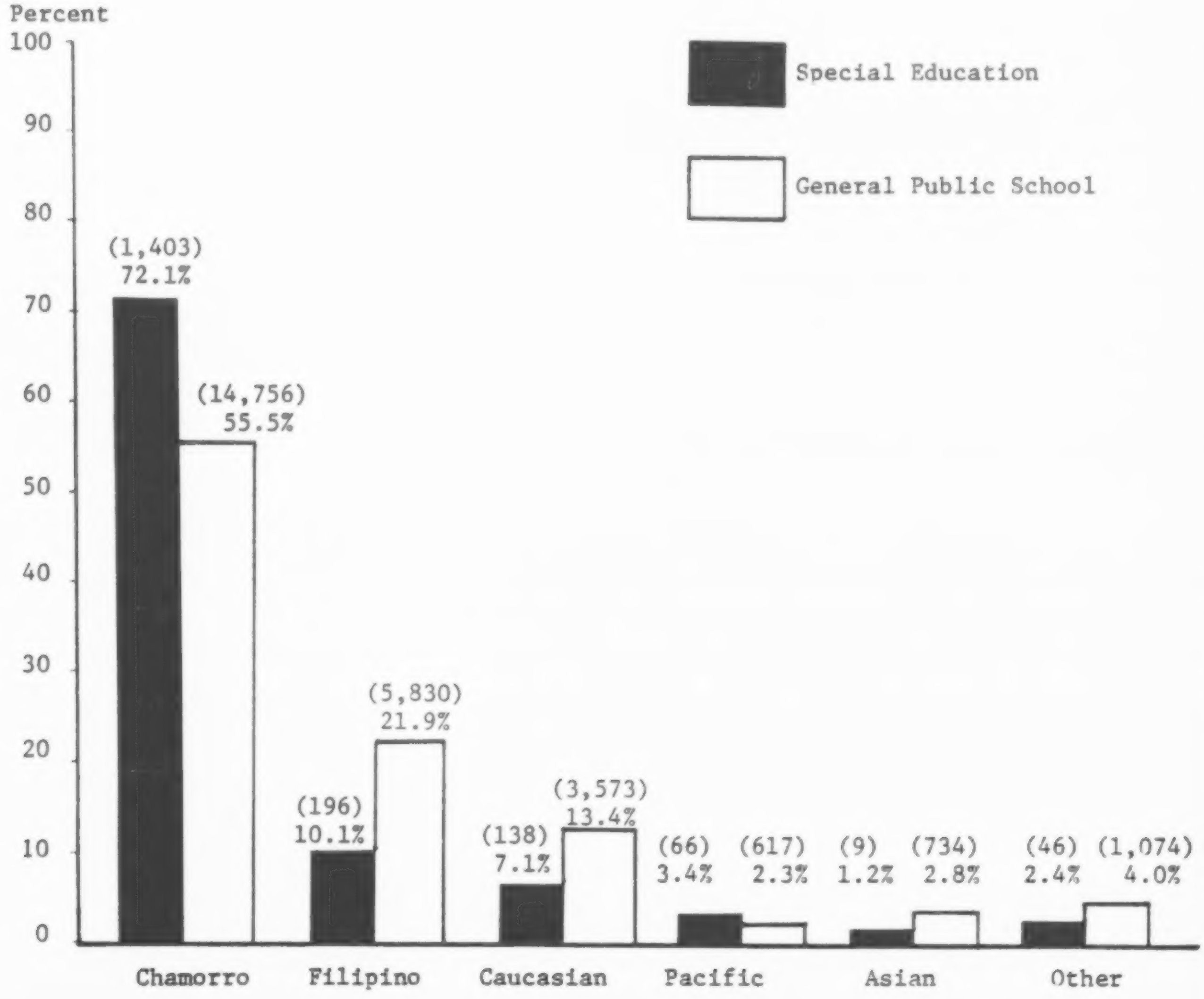
Examination of Figure 1 reveals that the ethnic distribution in the Guam total special education population was disproportionate to its total public school ethnic distribution. Chamorros and Pacific Islanders were overrepresented in special education while Filipinos, Caucasians, Asians, and students belonging to the Other category were underrepresented. Chamorro students comprised 55.5% of Guam's total public school population. However, their proportion in the total public school special education population was 72.1%, approximately 16.6% greater than their proportion in the general school population. This difference, when compared to their total public school proportion, revealed an overrepresentation by 29.9%. Pacific Islanders comprised 3.4% of the special education population, but their proportion in the total public school population was only 2.3%. The difference between the Pacific Islander's two distributions was only 1.1%. However, this difference compared to the ethnic group's proportion in the general school population resulted in an overrepresentation by as much as 47.8%.

In contrast, Filipinos comprised 21.9% of the general public school population, while they made up only 10.1% of the total special education population. The difference between these two proportions resulted in an underrepresentation of Filipino students in special education by 53.9%. The same comparative analyses applied to the remaining ethnic groups shown in Figure 1 revealed underrepresentation by 57% for Asians; 47% for Caucasians; and 40% for students belonging to the Other category.

The participation rate of each ethnic group in special education was also examined. This percentage was calculated by comparing the special education enrollment of each ethnic group to their total enrollment in the general public school population. Table 1 presents each ethnic group's proportion in special education based on their total number in the general public school population.

Figure 1

Ethnic Group Distributions in Guam's Public School Special Education Population and General Public School Population



Note: Percentages of special education are based on the total number of students with known ethnic background (1,946 or 96% of the total public school special education population; 98 or 4% did not have identifying ethnic information. General public school ethnic figures were aggregated from the Department of Education's monthly school enrollment report, February 28, 1983.

Table 1

Ethnic Population Rates in Guam's
Public School Special Education Program
March 30, 1983

Ethnic/Racial Groups	Enrollment In General School Population	Enrollment In Special Education Program	Participation Rate (%)
Chamorro	14,756	1,403	9.5
Filipino	5,830	196	3.4
Caucasian	3,573	138	3.9
Pacific Islander	617	66	10.7
Asian	734	24	3.3
Other	1,074	46	4.3

Note: Participation Rate is the ratio of the number of students of each ethnic group in special education versus the general population (number of students in special education divided by number of students in the general population).

This table reveals dramatic differences in the participation rates of Chamorros and Pacific Islanders as compared to the other ethnic groups.

More than 10% of the total number of Pacific Islanders enrolled in Guam's public schools were receiving special education and related services. Chamorro students had the second highest participation rate with 9.5% of their population enrolled in special education programs while the Filipino and Asian categories, with participation rates of approximately 3% respectively, had the lowest participation rates in special education. Caucasians and those belonging to the Other category similarly showed low participation rates of 3.9% and 4.3%, respectively.

In short, the participation rates in special education by Pacific Islanders and Chamorros were more than double that of the other ethnic groups. Moreover, the rate of participation by Pacific Islanders were three times greater than those of the Asian and Filipino students. These findings support the previous analysis which revealed that certain ethnic groups were significantly overrepresented in Guam's special education program.

Question 2: Are Any of the Ethnic Groups Over- or Underrepresented in the Handicapping Categories of Guam's Special Education Program?

This section examines the ethnic distribution in each of the seven major handicapping categories. Over- and underrepresentation in each impairment was calculated in the same manner as the other over-and underrepresentation indices used in this analysis. It was assumed that the propotion of each ethnic group in each handicapping category would be approximately the same as their respective proportions in the general school population.

Table 2 presents a cross tablulation of ethnic groups by handicapping categories. Included are: 1) each ethnic group's total number in each handicapping category; 2) each ethnic group's percentage in the handicapping

Table 2

Ethnic Distribution in Handicapping Categories of Guam's
Public School Special Education Program
March 30, 1983

Category	Chamorro	Filipino	Caucasian	Pacific	Asian	Mix	Other	Total
Slow Learner	440[1]	52	17	13	3	19	6	550
	(80.0)[2]	(9.4)	(3.1)	(2.4)	(0.5)	(3.5)	(1.1)	29.5[3]
	(32.9)[4]	(27.3)	(12.7)	(21.7)	(13.6)	(26.0)	(13.3)	100.0
Learning Disability	352	57	52	19	9	26	10	525
	(67.1)	(10.9)	(9.9)	(3.6)	(1.7)	(4.9)	(1.9)	28.2
	(26.3)	(29.8)	(38.8)	(31.7)	(40.9)	(35.6)	(22.2)	100.0
Communication Disorder	133	15	38	7	1	10	13	217
	(61.3)	(6.9)	(17.5)	(3.2)	(0.5)	(4.6)	(6.0)	11.6
	(9.9)	(7.9)	(28.4)	(11.7)	(4.6)	(13.7)	(28.9)	100.0
Mentally Handicapped	153	24	9	8	1	8	6	209
	(73.2)	(11.5)	(4.3)	(3.8)	(0.5)	(3.8)	(2.9)	11.2
	(11.4)	(12.6)	(6.7)	(13.3)	(4.6)	(11.0)	(13.3)	100.0
Emotionally Handicapped	36	2	5	4	1	1	1	50
	(72.0)	(4.0)	(10.0)	(8.0)	(2.0)	(2.0)	(2.0)	2.7
	(2.7)	(1.1)	(3.7)	(6.7)	(4.6)	(1.4)	(2.2)	100.0
Multiple Handicapped	91	18	3	4	0	7	3	126
	(72.2)	(14.3)	(2.4)	(3.2)	(0.0)	(5.5)	(2.4)	6.8
	(6.8)	(9.4)	(2.2)	(6.7)	(0.0)	(9.6)	(6.7)	100.0
Other Handicapping Categories	133	23	10	5	7	2	6	186
	(71.5)	(12.4)	(5.4)	(2.7)	(3.8)	(1.1)	(3.2)	10.0
	(9.9)	(12.0)	(7.5)	(8.3)	(31.8)	(2.7)	(13.3)	100.1[5]
TOTAL	1,338	191	134	60	22	73	45	1,863
	71.8	10.3	7.2	3.2	1.2	3.9	2.4	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1[5]	100.1[5]	100.0	99.9	

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[1] *Number of students from each ethnic group who have been classified into each handicapping category.*

[2] *Percentage of students in a particular category who are identified with a particular ethnic group.*

[3] *This row total is the percentage of students in the special education population who have been classified into a particular handicapping category.*

[4] *Percentage of students in a particular ethnic group who have been classified into a particular handicapping category.*

[5] *Total percentage does not sum to 100 because of rounding error.*

categories total count; and 3) each ethnic group's percentage in the handicapping category relative to the ethnic group's total count in special education (column total). The major handicapping categories assigned to students who are deemed eligible for special education services are: slow learner, learning disability, communication disorder, mentally handicapped, emotionally handicapped, and multiple handicapped. The "Other" handicapping category represents the collective counts of pre-school developmentally delayed, hearing impaired, deaf, visually handicapped, orthopedically impaired, deaf/blind, and temporary situational disorder (T.S.D.). These categories were combined because of low cell frequencies. Ninety-one percent of the total special education student files had the ethnic and handicapping condition information available.

Inspection of row totals indicates that slow learner, learning disability, and communication disorder were the three most prevalent handicapping conditions in Guam's public schools. Column totals show that Chamorros, Filipinos, and Caucasians had the largest frequencies among the ethnic groups represented in special education.

Further analysis of the ethnic group's proportions in each handicapping category (percentages based on column totals), indicates a difference in the types of handicapping conditions which were most prevalent for each ethnic group. Slow learner and learning disability were the two most common handicapping conditions assigned to Chamorros, Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, and those who were classified under the "mix" ethnic category. This later group includes students who identified with more than one ethnic category during the data collection (e.g., Chamorro/Caucasian, Filipino/Chamorro, etc.).

Caucasian children and those who belonged to the "other" category were most frequently placed in the learning disability and communication disorder categories. The most prevalent handicapping conditions for Asians were learning disability and "other" handicapping conditions.

An examination of Table 2 also reveals a difference in ethnic distributions for each handicapping category. The three ethnic groups which had the highest percentages in the slow learner and multiple handicapped categories were Chamorros, Filipinos, and students with mixed ethnic backgrounds. The emotionally handicapped category was primarily comprised of Chamorros, Caucasians, and Pacific Islanders. The learning disability, communication disorder, mentally handicapped, and "other" categories were made up of Filipinos, Chamorros, and Caucasians.

Chi square analysis was applied to the data in Table 2 to determine if there was a significant relationship between handicapping conditions and ethnic group representation in Guam's public school special education program. This is equivalent to testing whether ethnicity and handicapping conditions were independent of each other. The alpha level was set at .05 with 49 degrees of freedom. A chi square value equal to or greater than 25 is indicative of a significant relationship between these two variables.

The null hypothesis tested was:

> The assignment of handicapping conditions is not dependent upon ethnicity; equivalent to stating that there is no significant relationship between specific handicapping conditions and ethnic groups.

The obtained chi square value was 206.76. Although the level of confidence was set at .05, this value was large enough to be significant beyond the .0001 level. The null hypothesis was rejected. Statistically, there was a significant relationship between ethnicity and handicapping conditions assigned to students within Guam's public school special education program; equivalent to stating that certain handicapping conditions were associated with specific ethnic groups.

Table 3

Over- and Underrepresentation of Ethnic Groups in Handicapping Categories in Guam's Public Schools
March 30, 1983

Handicapping Category	Chamorro (1,401)[1]	Filipino (198)	Caucasian (136)	Pacific (66)	Asian (23)	Other (46)	Total (1,863)
Slow Learner (526)[2]	80.0[3] +24.5[4]	9.4 -12.5	3.1 -10.3	2.4 +0.4	0.5 -2.3	1.1 -2.9	96.5
Learning Disability (535)	67.1 +11.6	10.9 +11.0	9.9 -3.5	3.6 +1.3	1.7 -1.1	1.9 -2.1	95.1
Communication Disorder (235)	61.3 +5.8	6.9 -15.0	17.5 +4.1	3.2 +0.9	0.5 -2.3	6.0 +2.0	95.4
Mentally Retarded (214)	73.2 -17.7	11.5 -10.4	4.3 -9.1	3.8 +1.5	0.5 -2.3	2.9 -1.1	96.2
Emotionally Handicapped (54)	72.0 +16.5	4.0 -17.9	10.0 -3.4	8.0 +5.7	2.0 -0.8	2.0 -2.0	98.0
Multiple Handicapped (129)	72.2 +16.7	14.3 -7.6	2.4 -11.0	3.2 +0.9	0.0 -2.8	2.4 -1.6	94.5
Other Handicapping Categories (194)	71.5 +16.0	12.4 -9.5	5.4 -8.0	2.7 +0.4	3.8 +1.0	3.2 -0.8	99.0
Ethnic Group's Percentage in Guam's Total Public School Population (26,584)	55.5%	21.9%	13.4%	2.3%	2.8%	4.0%	99.9

[1] *Ethnic group's total count in Guam's public school special education population.*

[2] *Total number of students in a particular handicapping category.*

[3] *Ethnic group's percentage in a particular handicapping category.*

[4] *The arithmetic difference between the percentage of the ethnic group in a particular handicapping category and in the general population (e.g., 80.0% minus 55.5% = 24.5%). The degree of over- or underrepresentation is obtained by dividing this difference by the percentage of the ethnic group in the general population (e.g., 24.5% divided by 55.5% = 44% overrepresentation).*

Table 3 illustrates each ethnic group's percentage of over- or underrepresentation in each handicapping category. Each cell shows the ethnic group's percentage in the handicapping category; and permits a comparison between the ethnic group's proportion in the handicapping category and its distribution in the general public school population. A plus sign indicates overrepresentation; a minus sign indicates underrepresentation. The "mix" category was excluded because the general public school enrollment report did not have this ethnic category listed; therefore, it was not possible to compare proportions for this ethnic category. As a result, percentage row totals will not sum to 100%. However, the data in this table is based on approximately 91% of the total special education and general public school population. Therefore, discrepancies are real and do not require statistical tests for significance.

Table 3 shows an overrepresentation of Chamorro students in all handicapping categories. This group's largest discrepancy was found in the Slow Learner category. Chamorros comprised 80% of the total number of students identified as Slow Learners. This, in comparison to their distribution in the general school population resulted in a difference of +24.5%. In proportion to their general school distribution, they were overrepresented by 44%. Chamorros exceeded their level of representation in the general population by more than 10% in all other handicapping categories except the Communication Disorder category: Learning Disability (+11.6%); Mentally Retarded (+17.7%); Emotionally Handicapped (+16.5%); Multiple Handicapped (+16.7%); Other Handicapping Categories (+16.0%).

Pacific Islanders were overrepresented in all but one of the specific handicapping categories. Their proportion in the Slow Learner category approximated their distribution in the school population at large. Although the discrepancy appeared to be much less than the Chamorros and other ethnic groups, the differences, when compared to their number in the general population were significant. For example, Pacific Islanders showed a discrepancy of +5.7% in the Emotionally Handicapped category. This difference is more than double their proportion in the general school populaton (2.3%). The proportion of Pacific Islanders in the Learning Disability and Mentally Retarded categories also reveals overrepresentation by more than 50% when the differences are compared to their number in the general school population.

In contrast, the pattern of Filipino represenation across the handicapping categories is a near reversal of that for Chamorros and Pacific Islanders. Discrepancies ranged from a low of -7.6% in the Multiple Handicapped category to a high of -17.9% in the Emotionally Handicapped population. These differences in relation to their school population representation resulted in an underrepresentation of at least 35% and as much as 82%.

The Caucasian and Other ethnic categories revealed underrepresentations in all but one handicapping condition. The distribution in the Communication Disorder category revealed a discrepancy of +4.1% for Caucasians, while the Other category showed a difference of +2.0%. Compared to their numbers in the general public school population, Caucasians are overrepresented by as much as 31%, while students classified as Other were overrepresented by 50% in the Communciation Disorder group. Interestingly, this was the handicapping condition in which Chamorro students were least overrepresented. Moreover, Caucasians and those belonging to the Other ethnic group show greatest underrepresentation in the Slow Learner category, a handicapping condition which is most prevalent for Chamorros.

Asians were also underrepresented in all but one handicapping category. This ethnic group shows a cumulative difference of +1.0% in the Other handicapping category. In relation to their distribution in the general school population, Asians are overrepresented in this handicapping category by 36%. Areas of greatest underrepresentation were found in the Multiple Handicapped (-2.8%), Slow Learner (-2.3%), Communication Disorder (-2.3%), and Mentally Retarded (-2.3%).

Question 3: Are Any of the Ethnic Groups Over- or Underrepresented in the Program Description Categories?

Program description categories give a general account of the amount of time and the environment in which a handicapped child receives special education services (Handbook for Delivery of Services, 1982-83). P.L. 94-142 mandates a "free and appropriate education" be provided to all handicapped children. This means not only should handicapped children be provided special education and related services, but also that such services be made available through a continuum of alternative placements, ranging from less to more restrictive environments. In every case, the child must be placed in the Least Restrictive Environment (LRE), which is assumed to be the regular classroom unless justified otherwise. Specifically, LRE provisions of P.L. 94-142 require handicapped children be educated to the maximum extent with their non-handicapped peers (U.S. Department of Education, 1982).

The following are seven program descriptions available to special education students in Guam:

RC10 - All instruction in a regular classroom with related special education services provided;

RR11 - Instructions in the regular classroom for a majority of the time, with part time (less than 50% of school day) special education resource room instruction;

RR20 - Instructions in a special education resource room for a majority of the time (50% or greater of the school day), with part time regular classroom instruction.

RR21 - All instruction provided to the student in a special education classroom located on a regular school campus.

BR30 - All instruction in a special public day school.

HB40 - All instruction and related services are provided at home due to the severity of student's handicapping condition.

HB41 - Instruction at home due to what is usually considered a temporary medical problem.

It should be noted that the program category assigned to each student is determined by the IIP placement committee, which is mainly comprised of the school principal, regular and/or resource room teacher, and consulting resource teacher. This must be approved by parents or guardians of the child.

This section examines the program (placement) descriptions of various ethnic groups. It determines whether certain ethnic groups are over- or under-represented in any of the program description categories. Table 4 presents the ethnic distribution in the various types of placement categories. Each cell shows: 1) the ethnic group's total number in the program description category; 2) the distribution of ethnic group percentages in each program description category; and 3) the percentage of students in an ethnic group that has been classified into each program description category. A total of 1,946 student records (95.7%) had the ethnic and program description information available. Distributions of Asians and Pacific Islanders were combined because their numbers were too small for application of inferential tests.

Analysis of the ethnic distribution in Table 4 reveals that Chamorros had the largest proportions in each program description category. This is to be expected since Chamorro, by far, is the most represented ethnic group in Guam's special education program. However, closer inspection of the two largest ethnic distributions in each program description category, reveals that a variety of ethnic groups accounted for the second highest proportions. RC10, the program description deemed to be the least restrictive of all alternative placements, is mainly comprised of Chamorro students (65.2%). Caucasians (14%) and Filipinos (8.8%) were the next most prevalent ethnic groups in this category. A similar pattern of ethnic group representation is present in the RR11 category (Chamorro, 70.7%; Caucasian, 8.0%; Filipino, 9.9%), and in the RR21 category (Chamorro, 72.1%; Caucasian, 9.8%; Filipino, 9.3%).

In program description categories RR20 and BR30, Filipino students predominate, with smaller numbers of students from the other ethnic groups being present. It should be noted that RR20 is a program placement involving instruction in a resource room on a regular school campus. Students in an RR20 program spend 50% or more of the total school day in the special education classroom. The BR30 category requires all instruction in the special public day school. This type of placement is considered most restrictive, unless the student is severely handicapped (e.g., multiple handicapped, severely mentally handicapped).

The ethnic distributions in Table 4 (percentages based on column totals) also reveal RR20 to be the most prevalent type of placement for Chamorros, Filipinos, Asian/Pacific, and students classified as "mix." On the other hand, Caucasians and those belonging to the Other ethnic category showed their highest proportions in RR10, the regular classroom placement.

A chi square test of independence was applied to the data in Table 4 to determine if a statistically significant relationship exists between the placement assignments and ethnicity. In other words, the test determined whether certain ethnic groups were significantly associated with specific types of placements. The alpha level, or level of confidence, was set at .05 with 30 degrees of freedom. Given these conditions, an obtained Chi Square value equal to or greater than 43.77 would reject the following null hypothesis:

Table 4

Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Guam's Public Special Education Program Description Categories
March 30, 1983

Program Description Categories	Chamorro	Filipino	Caucasian	Asian/ Pacific	Mix	Other	Total
Regular Class RC10	266[1] 65.2[2] 19.0[3]	36 8.8 18.3	57 14.0 41.3	17 4.2 19.1	16 3.9 21.9	16 3.9 34.8	408
Resource Room RR11	301 70.7 21.5	42 9.9 21.3	34 8.0 24.6	20 4.7 22.5	19 4.5 26.0	10 2.3 21.7	426
Resource Room RR20	522 76.9 37.2	70 10.3 35.5	26 3.8 18.8	32 4.7 36.0	21 3.1 28.8	8 1.2 17.4	679
Self Contained Resource Room RR21	132 72.1 9.4	17 9.3 8.6	18 9.8 13.0	3 1.6 3.4	7 3.8 9.6	6 3.3 13.0	183
Special School/Program BR30	163 73.4 11.6	29 13.1 14.7	2 0.9 1.4	15 6.8 16.9	10 4.5 13.7	3 1.4 6.5	222
Homebound Handicapped HB40	6 66.7 0.4	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	3 33.3 6.5	9
Homebound Medical HB41	13 68.4 0.9	3 15.8 1.5	1 5.3 0.7	2 10.5 2.2	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	19
TOTAL	1,403 72.1 100.0	197 10.1 99.9[4]	138 7.1 99.8[4]	89 4.6 100.1[4]	73 3.8 100.0	46 2.4 99.9[4]	1,946 100.0

[1] *Number of students from each ethnic group who have been placed in each program description category.*

[2] *Percentage of students in a particular program description category who are identified with a particular ethnic group.*

[3] *Percentage of students in a particular ethnic group who have been placed into a particular program description category.*

[4] *Total percentage does not sum to 100 because of rounding error.*

> The program descriptions assigned to a student is independent of his/her ethnic background.

The obtained chi square value was 119.34. Although the level of confidence was set at .05, this value was large enough to be significant beyond the .0001 alpha level. The null hypothesis was rejected. There is a statistically significant relationship between ethnicity and program description categories assigned to special education students; equivalent to stating that ethnic identity is related to the amount of time and the environment in which the child receives special education services.

To determine which ethnic groups were significantly associated with certain placement categories, ethnic repesentation in the program description categories were compared to the ethnic distribution in the general public school population. This analysis specifically identified the ethnic groups that are over- or underrepesented in the various types of placements.

Table 5 presents the differential percentages between each ethnic group's distribution in the program description categories and their proportion in the general public school population. Each cell shows: 1) ethnic distibution in the program description category; and 2) the difference between the ethnic proportion in the program description category and the ethnic proportion in the general public school population.

Examination of Table 5 reveals that Chamorros are overrepresented in all the program description categories. Differences for this ethnic group ranged from a low of +9.7% in the regular classroom RC10, to a high of +21.4% in the RR20 category. The latter category requires instruction in the special education classroom 50% or more of the school day. Therefore, Chamorros are, for the most part, receiving special education services in the resource room located on a regular school campus. The incidence of placement was least in the regular classroom setting for this ethnic group.

Table 5

Over- and Underrepresentation of Ethnic Groups in Program Description Categories in Guam's Public Schools
March 30, 1983

Program Description Categories	Chamorro	Filipino	Caucasian	Asian/ Pacific	Other	Total
Regular Class RC10 (408) [1]	65.2[2] +9.7[3]	8.8 -13.1	14.0 +0.6	4.2 -0.9	3.9 -0.1	96.1
Resource Room RR11 (426)	70.7 +15.2	9.9 -12.1	8.0 -5.4	4.7 -0.4	2.3 +1.7	95.6
Resource Room RR20 (679)	76.9 +21.4	10.3 -11.6	3.8 -9.6	4.7 -0.4	1.2 -2.8	96.9
Self Contained Resource Room RR21 (183)	72.1 +16.6	9.3 -12.6	9.8 -3.6	1.6 -3.5	3.3 -0.7	96.1
Special School/Program BR30 (222)	73.4 +17.9	13.1 -8.8	0.9 -12.5	6.8 +1.7	1.4 -2.6	95.6
Homebound Handicapped HB40 (9)	66.7 +11.2	0.0 -21.9	0.0 -13.4	0.0 -5.1	33.3 +29.3	100.0
Homebound Medical HB41 (19)	68.4 +12.9	15.8 -6.1	5.3 -8.1	10.5 +5.4	0.0 -4.0	100.0
Ethnic Group's Percentage in Guam's Total Public School Population (26,584)	55.5%	21.9%	13.4%	5.1%	4.0%	99.9

[1] *Total number of students in a particular program description category.*

[2] *Ethnic group's percentage in a particular program description category.*

[3] *The arithmetic difference between the percentage of the ethnic group in a particular program description category and in the general population. The degree of over- or underrepresentation is obtained by dividing this difference by the percentage of the ethnic group in the general population.*

Filipinos are underrepresented in all program description categories. Differences between their distribution in the general public school population and their distribution in the program categories ranged from a low of -6.1% to a high of -21.9%. A low percentage difference is found for Filipinos in the BR30 category (special school) and the HB41 (homebound) category. Aside from the homebound, Filipinos have their highest incidence of placement at Brodie Memorial School, an all day special school for the severely handicapped. They were underrepresented by a substantial proportion in the Regular Classroom placement category (RC19, -13.1%), the special education classroom (RR21, -12.6%), and the resource rooms (RR11, -12.1%; RR20, -11.6%).

Caucasians, on the other hand, are underrepresented in all program description categories with the exception of the regular classroom (RC10) and are slightly overrepresented in this placement. They are largely underrepresented in BR30 (-12.5%), HB40 (-13.4%), and RR20 (-9.6%), indicating that Caucasian students are mainly placed in the regular classroom and are least represented in more restrictive environments.

Students classified under the Other ethnic category are overrepresented in the HB40 category (+29.3), but are underrepresented in the remaining program description categories. Aside from HB40, their proportions tend to emphasize the regular and the special education classroom placements. They are also underrepresented in RR20 and BR30 placements which are often deemed more restrictive.

Asian/Pacific students are overrepresented in homebound medical (HB41) and BR30 placement categories and underrepresented in the remaining categories. However, it should be kept in mind that this ethnic group represents the combined distribution of Pacific Islanders and Asians. Moreover, the former group showed a significant overrepresentation in special education programs while the latter group was underrepresented.

In summary, this section depicts significant differences in the types of placements of each ethnic group when they receive special education and related services. It reveals that the Caucasians, Asian/Pacific, and Other groups are placed in the least restrictive environments while a large portion of Chamorros and Filipinos are assigned to a special education classroom for a majority of the school day.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Studies relating to the U.S. special education population have found minority children overrepresented in special classes and placed in the most restrictive environments at higher rates than non-minority children (Mercer, 1971). Results of the survey involving Guam´s public school special education population similarly revealed discrepancies in the distribution of the various ethnic groups in special education program placement categories and handicapping conditions relative to their distribution in the general student population. Specifically, the participation rates of Chamorros and Pacific Islanders in special education programs on Guam are approximately twice as high as the rates of other ethnic groups; certain handicapping conditions are significantly associated with particular ethnic groups (i.e., Slow Learner with Chamorros, Multiple Handicapped with Filipinos, Communication Disorder with Caucasians); and Chamorros and Filipinos are assigned to more restrictive environments at higher rates than Caucasian children. These findings, along with survey results indicating that 82% of students in the special education population speak a language other than English, clearly reveal that the Guam Department of Education is challenged with educating an ethnically and linguistically pluralistic population. The demographic characteristics of the population, combined with Guam´s status as a non-self-governing territory of the U. S. create an educational situation in which the Territory is responsible for educating a multicultural population using norms which are generally based on a single cultural group - that of the mainstream American society.

Some educational critics charge that minority overrepresentation in the U.S. special education population is reflective of systematic discriminatory practices against such children (Oakland and Phillips, 1973). This allegation is primarily based on research findings that reveal significant relationships between school related factors and the disparities in special education ethnic representation. For example, a study which investigated the influence of student and teacher ethnicity on recommendations for referrals to special education services, found that teachers less frequently recommended referral of students whose ethnic backgrounds were identical to their own than they did of youngsters of other ethnic backgrounds (Tobias et al., 1980). Mercer (1971) found that the rate of assignment of persons from lower socioeconomic status and/or ethnic minorities to the status of mental retardates was related to an interaction between sociocultural factors and the clinical referral, labeling process, and the nature of clinical measurement instruments. Although the Guam special education survey results are insufficient to identify causes of the observed ethnic representational disparities, the findings raise questions regarding those school related factors which may contribute to the disparities. There needs to be a determination of whether the high participation rates in special education by Chamorros and Pacific Islanders is a result of the school system's failure to understand the unique cultural and linguistic characteristics of these students, and whether the disproportionate representation of Chamorros and Filipinos in the most restrictive special education environments is attributable to the use of discriminatory assessment instruments and procedures. The results of the Guam special education survey raise serious questions about Guam's special education referral and assessment procedures, teacher training, and current school programs designed to address linguistic differences amongst the students.

As pointed out in the introduction, Public Law 94-142 specifically includes a procedural safeguard which states that the "testing and evaluation materials used for purposes of evaluation and placement must be selected and administered so as not to be racially and culturally discriminatory (Subpart E, Procedural Safeguards, Section 121z 530 (b)). This, in light of statistics which reveal that 85% of Guam's student population are of cultural and linguistic backgrounds that 85% of Guam's student population are of cultural and linguistic backgrounds different from those of the normative groups used in the norm-referenced tests being used in Guam, strongly suggests that the assessment data provided by these tests may be of questionable validity. Specifically, if a Chamorro, Pacific Islander, or Filipino student is referred to special education and is known to have a language background other than English, the child's proficiency in the English language should be measured prior to administration of standardized tests (e.g., WISC-R, Woodcock, Peabody Individualized Achievement Test, Wide Range Achievement Test). If the student is not proficient in English, alternative means of evaluating the student's mental capacity and adaptive behavior should be utilized (e.g., testing the child in his/her native language). Moreover, assessing a child's proficiency in English may indicate that the student's failure in the regular classroom may be due primarily to limited English proficiency. Alternative programs should be explored and utilized prior to assessing the child for special education placement. The question is: Is the Guam Division of Special Education currently complying with the procedural safeguard for evaluating students who are culturally and linguistically different from the American mainstream?

Although Chamorros make up 55.5% of the public school population, the majority of public school teachers come from Caucasian, Filipino, and other ethnic groups. This situation, in view of research findings relating to teacher-student ethnicity, and the disproportionate ethnic representation in special classes for the handicapped, suggests that the manifested difficulties encountered by Chamorro children in regular classes may be partially due to teachers' limited understanding of Chamorro culture and learning styles. In view of these concerns, teacher training in multicultural education, Guam history, Chamorro culture, and instructional methodologies for children who speak a language other than English appears to be needed. This training should probably be required of teachers who are new to Guam, and it should be a component of an on-going inservice or staff development program.

Students are most frequently referred for special education placement by regular classroom teachers on the basis of low academic achievement and/or behavioral problems. Given the linguistic and cultural characteristics of the student population, the perceived problems of students referred to special education may be primarily caused by language difficulties and the teacher's limited understanding of the local culture and means to work with the differences. The Guam Department of Education should therefore examine if current teacher training programs are effectively addressing the need to provide teachers with necessary skills to teach a linguistically and culturally pluralistic population.

The findings also imply a need to determine if regular or remedial programs, other than special education, are effective with students whose language is other than English. Analysis of the grade level distribution of special education students in Guam reveals high participation rates by students in fifth through ninth grade (Lee, 1984). This indicates that referrals to special education may occur most frequently as students transfer from elementary to middle school or as the curriculum becomes more complex. These findings suggest that curriculum design should be more consistent with the characteristics and needs of children in this age group.

In summary, the findings of the Guam special education survey have revealed ethnic representational disparities in special classes, and have identified a need to determine if factors of school-origin rather than student-origin create the disparities.

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SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Taken as a whole, this collection of papers depicts the Chamorro language of Guam, and the Chamorro children who are influenced by it, in a state of uncomfortable tension. Odo´s studies documented the declining use of Chamorro within a single generation in Guam, and suggested its variations of form and lesser dominance relative to that of Chamorro speakers of Saipan and Rota. In exploring the reasons for the decline of the Chamorro language in Guam, Underwood argued that it has been due primarily to the competition it has suffered from the ascendency of the English language; that is, decline due more to benign neglect than to direct assault. Palomo attends to the competition that Chamorro has had at the hands of both Spanish and English, and explores the reasons behind the remarkable survival of the Chamorro language in Guam. Odo´s surveys show us that indeed the Chamorro public of the early 1970´s did regard Chamorro as the secondary language. Adults spoke it to one another in the presence of children, but adults speak English when directly communicating with Chamorro children. This is language acquisition by eavesdropping, as Underwood has said elsewhere. We sense that negative sociolinguistic values have been assigned to the Chamorro language, albeit for differing reasons, by the various immigrant groups in Guam, especially by the native English speaking elements. In Babasa´s study, for example, we saw that children as young as five and six years of age learn negative language attitudes, in this case negative attitudes about Chamorro tinged English. Inferred is the proposition that school personnel are the carriers of these negative attitudes since the children´s manifestations of these attitudes commences with their first exposures to school. Yet, Odo´s subjects were almost all in favor of stable bilingualism for their children. They wanted their children to speak "good Chamorro and good English." But in saying that they expect their children will pick it up somewhere along the way, they seem to have underestimated the fragility of the current state of the Chamorro language in Guam.

Against Odo´s and Underwood´s discussions about Chamorro parents speaking English to their children and Chamorro around them, some of the other studies begin to show us the possible impacts of the sociolinguistic conditions of Guam on the language proficiency of Chamorro students. In Odo's study of children in 1971, she estimated that the Chamorro of the bilingual children in Guam was approximately two years less developed than the Chamorro of children from Rota and Saipan who were monolingual Chamorro speakers. In the analysis of Chamorro and English oral language proficiency of Chamorro children in Guam, the Spencer, et al. study showed that almost all were non-Chamorro or very limited Chamorro speakers. In addition, over half were limited English speakers. These findings may be viewed against the annual standardized test scores from Guam Department of Education which show that Guam students in general score well below U.S. Mainland norm levels in English reading and language arts. Following on these indications that the majority of Chamorro students in Guam may be limited in their language arts proficiencies in both English and Chamorro, Lee reveals that Chamorro students experience a disproportionately greater representation in special education placements, are more likely to be placed in the most restrictive special education environments, and are more often diagnosed via ill defined high inference categories such as "slow learner."

Thus, moving through a series of eight articles, we see: 1) status descriptions of Chamorro and English language in Chamorro children and adults in Guam, and 2) hypothesized linkages among parent/teacher sociolinguistic attitudes toward English and Chamorro, home/school language teaching approaches, and negative impacts on the English (and by inference, the Chamorro) school performance of Chamorro students, as well as violations of their civil rights with respect to placement in special education programs. These status descriptions and hypothesized associations are useful as rough channel markers. Nevertheless, there is much that we either do not yet know, or of which we are not certain, but need very much to know with certainty if we are to effectively provide for the language/culture/education concerns of Chamorro children in Guam. Let us consider some of the specific research implications of the findings presented in these selected papers.

Implications for Research

Urgently needed is documentation of the sequence of development of Chamorro syntactic features and lexicon at varying age levels. Odo´s study showed the variability one should expect between bilingual and monolingual Chamorro speaking children. Thus, such a study should use students with varying degrees of Chamorro/English bilinguality. In Guam, to document regional variation, it would be appropriate to conduct case studies with students who are fully proficient in Chamorro (even though this is a small subset of all Chamorro students in Guam), for comparison with fluent Chamorro speaking children of the Northern Marianas Islands. One of the immediate uses for this information is as baseline data for instruments designed to assess Chamorro oral language proficiency. The measures of Chamorro oral language proficiency that are currently available were constructed on a judgmental basis, without benefit of empirical evidence as to which grammatical features are acquired early or late by children, or which words are more or less frequently used or familiar in different contexts to children of different ages. For example, several Guam educators recently wanted to measure the proficiency of high school students for producing spoken Chamorro vocabulary words in association with picture stimuli. However, the construction of the measure could only be done in an informal judgmental way because it is not known what the relative difficulty, frequency, or familiarity of Chamorro words are for either speaking or aural comprehension. At present, we have no way of rationally specifying which words a fluent Chamorro speaking teenager should be expected to control, compared to those that a six or seven year old should be able to control. For basic linguistic researchers, the linguistic environment of Guam offers an ideal setting for the study of concurrent bilingualism compared to successive acquisition of two languages. Findings on this phenomena should be useful to educators wishing to promote the acquisition of both languages.

The findings on Chamorro children in Guam which show a substantial number are low in oral proficiency in both Chamorro and English raise a number of research questions that deserve immediate attention. If many local Chamorro children do not produce either spoken Chamorro or spoken English in formal testing situations, what is their verbal behavior like throughout the various communication occasions and contexts of their daily lives? Do these results mean that they are largely silent? If not, when do they interact? What language do they use with various other people? What kinds of language features and lexicon do they use, for what purposes, and with what degree of proficiency? What are the styles and formats (participant structures) of these communicative interactions. Intensive case study profiles of such students could provide many of the insights we need into the linguistic development of Chamorro students in Guam. Observations of Guam classrooms are needed to help us understand if certain dynamics exist which differentially promote or inhibit the oral production of these students. Babasa's study makes us wonder about the sociolinguistic attitudes that students encounter at school toward nonstandard English, and also toward Chamorro and other non-English languages. As part of such case studies, the literacy development of the students needs to be thoroughly documented. What is their reading and writing proficieny in Chamorro? In English? What reading comprehension strategies do they typically use and how do these change as their oral language proficiency increases, or with direct instruction? We currently have virtually no data on Chamorro reading and writing by persons of any age, or of the factors that promote Chamorro literacy development. Evaluation studies, perhaps of a "planned variation" model, are needed of alternative instructional approaches used to develop English and Chamorro speaking/listening/reading/writing proficiency. For example, what are the most prevalent oral language instruction models currently in use in Guam schools (e.g., natural approach, audiolingual, grammar/translation)? Observational documentation of actual instruction should be a key element of the methodologies of such studies.

Several of the articles in this collection raise questions about broadly based community understanding and perspective. If, as Odo reports, most Chamorro adults would prefer their children to be balanced Chamorro/English bilinguals, then how can this public best be educated to the fact that this is an entirely feasible goal? How can information best be disseminated to them about the necessary role that they must play in achieving this goal — in short, actively communicating with the children of Guam in the Chamorro language? How can the public be educated to specific workable ways of teaching languages to their children and of supporting the language programs of their children's schools? Does the public use information when it is disseminated? Are there factors in this dissemination process that enhance or inhibit utilization of the information? Do these effects vary with varying segments of the Guam public? In similar ways, investigation of the dissemination of this information to teachers is needed. Using the teacher training research literature as a guide to such training, what are the learner characteristics of teachers being trained, and which training approaches produce the best results in terms of both knowledge and classroom application? What is the relative interest value and utilization of this content by various groups of teachers?

Lee's disturbing findings demark an area of research that is also in need of immediate attention. With such large and disproportionate numbers of Chamorro students being tracked into special education classes in Guam, the entire referral, testing, evaluation, classification and placement process, including the nature and composition of decision making bodies and the consistency of operations, should be documented in careful detail. Who refers and for what provocations? Who is involved in each step of the process and what are their qualifications? What are their roles? What instruments and procedures are used at each stage of screening and assessment? How are tests and measures administered, scored, interpreted, and utilized? What are the reliability and validity values of these instruments for the various populations involved? Are there other instruments or procedures that might have relatively greater benefits for the accuracy of the process? What are the operational definitions of the diagnostic categories used (e.g., slow learner)? Are these categories unbiased and fair for all racial/ethnic/linguistic groups in Guam? Are limited English proficient students being placed in special education when the attention they need is of a purely language instruction nature? Exactly what is the nature of the six special education environments used by the Guam Department of Education? What is the intra- and inter-environment variability, and how do they differ from regular classrooms? Lee's results that Chamorro students are more likely to be placed in the more restrictive environments invite concern. But to objectively assess the meaning of special education environments for students who are accurately or inaccurately classified as eligible for such placement, we must document and understand these various environments. The negative effects we fear involve lowered expectations for students who have been mislabeled as being incapable of coping with a regular classroom, of damaged self image and self esteem connected with the stigma of being a special education student, of impoverished academic content presentations, of irreversible cummulative developmental delays created by a slowed down, watered down curriculum. What evidence is there, if any, that these effects are occurring? Are there any positive aspects to being placed in these environments, such as favorable teacher/student ratios, personalized attention and encouragment, student progress in academic skills? Are students followed up after initial special education placement and reassessed? To what degree are students reclassified into regular classrooms, and for what reasons? How do they fare once they are returned to the mainstream curriculum?

In this section, an attempt has been made to highlight the major trends that emerged from the collected papers, and to project new directions for research. Perhaps this discussion can serve as a preliminary research agenda on Chamorro language, culture, and education issues in Guam, to be enlarged and refined by students and colleagues. As UOG students, and indeed students enrolled in other programs as well, search for thesis, special project, or dissertation topics, this roster of research needs could serve as a guidepost. I particularly hope that they will gain the impression from this collection, which contains the work of faculty, student, and practitioner researchers, that their research counts.

Mary L. Spencer
Editor